Tamil TIMES

"I do not agree with a word of what you say, but I'll defend to the death your right to say it."

– Voltaire

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The Congress(I) President, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the AIADMK general secretary, Ms. Jayalalitha at the public meeting on the Marina, where they launched the poll campaign of their parties.

- ★ **Wooing the Tigers**
- ★ **Bishop Beaten Up**
- ★ **LTTE's Peace Bid**
- ★ **Revival of the JVP**
- ★ **The Ugly Face of 'Counter Terrorism'**
- ★ **Prabhakaran's Hold on Tamil Nadu**
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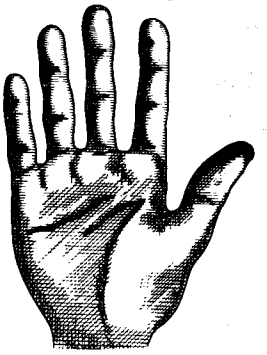

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FOR A FEDERAL SOLUTION

President Premadasa waxed eloquently in his recent address to Parliament on many matters including the ethnic question and the ongoing war. He stated 'We stand for the peaceful resolution of the problems. We stand for a Sri Lanka in which every ethnic group and every religious denomination are equal partners with one another. . .We are determined to break away from the past and cut through years of prejudice and suspicion. We are ready to make the necessary accommodations and compromises. There is no other road to prosperity. . .I repeat the Government's invitation to all concerned parties to come to the negotiating table. I do so in the name of the millions of innocent civilians in the North and East. They are compelled to undergo much suffering for no fault of theirs. Negotiations can commence with the declaration to eschew violence as a means of achieving political objectives'.

The President's words sound eminently reasonable and well intentioned. If that is the honest and genuine view of the President, one is tempted to pose the question as to why his military has launched a massive offensive in all parts of the north involving thousands of troops and carpet bombing civilian areas. He appears to know the enormous suffering the people of the north and east are undergoing for no fault of theirs. If that is the case, we ask the question in the name of the very same millions of innocent civilians as to why his armed forces are bombing and shelling them out of existence and sending them to destruction and death. If he is serious about eschewing of violence as a means of achieving political objectives, why is he permitting his military to inflict indiscriminate violence against the suffering innocent millions?

The fact of the matter is that the government and the LTTE are engaged in a war in which the victims are mainly innocent civilians. If the suffering of the people is to be arrested, and if negotiations are to commence, it is imperative that both warring parties must eschew the use of violence and agree on a ceasefire as a prelude to negotiations.

LTTE spokesmen have also called for negotiations and some of them have declared that they are prepared to settle the conflict on the basis of self-determination of the Tamil people, but it need not be a total separate state. The President also has given expression to the view that except for Eelam, everything else is negotiable. Both parties say they are ready to talk, but they are continuing this war with the inevitable death of thousands and destruction of the lives of millions of people.

The indications are that neither party is going to trounce the other and sooner or later they will begin negotiations with or without outside assistance. It must surely be sensible to commence talking sooner and not later which will inevitably mean more death and destruction.

If the President is serious about being ready to discuss everything else except a separate state, then the time has come for the government to announce a federal structure in which the Tamil people of the north-east will enjoy a high degree of autonomy acceptable to them. The rights of the Muslim people of these areas should also be addressed in a manner acceptable to them. What has been repeatedly said in public in the recent past by several LTTE spokesmen would indicate that the LTTE leadership would positively respond to such an announcement by the President and his government.

There was a time when even a minor concession to the minorities was characterised as a sell-out of the Sinhalese majority. Opportunist politicians were in plentiful supply to whip up anti-Tamil hysteria and mislead the gullible Sinhala masses. Today it is self evident that the Sinhala people are no longer in a frame of mind to oppose anything that will bring an end to this continuing conflict and they will be prepared to accept a federal solution. What is needed is the political will on the part of the President and his government to translate his words into concrete action to provide an opportunity for all the nationalities in the island to become equal partners in a federal setup.

WOOING THE TIGERS

Rita Sebastian from Colombo

There is considerable speculation in Colombo that after the local government elections on May 11 there could be the resumption of negotiations between the Tigers and the Colombo government to resolve the national question.

At election rallies across the country, except in the north and east where elections to local bodies will not be held, President Ranasinghe Premadasa has reiterated that his government remains firmly committed to solving the north-east issue through negotiation, and he was willing to take whatever steps necessary, to ensure that the LTTE enters the political mainstream.

Although the government, following the collapse of the unilateral ceasefire declared by the Tigers on December 31 1990, did lay down pre-conditions for any future talks, those pre-conditions seem to have since been re-defined.

The three conditions set out by the government after it met with several political parties were, that LTTE supremo Vellupillai Prabhakaran himself be a party to any future talks, that other political parties be allowed to participate in the discussions and that the LTTE make a declaration against the possession and use of arms by any group or persons, other than those authorised by law.

The government's present position appears to be that it is willing to accommodate even a declaration by the Tigers not to engage in violence during the negotiating phase.

With regard to the participation of other Tamil groups, the government is likely to agree to talks exclusively with the Tigers and draw the other groups into the discussions at a later stage. And with regard to the participation of Prabhakaran in the talks the government might settle for representatives of the Tigers' military wing participating at the talks, and not insist on Prabhakaran's presence.

The Tiger leadership however has remained strangely silent to the indirect overtures by the government, as intensified military operations by government forces in the north-east region and carefully planned guerrilla attacks by the Tigers continue. These past weeks has seen the war enter one of its bloodiest phases, inflicting heavy casualties on both sides. Added to it a terrified population in Eastern Batticaloa were witness to headless bodies surfacing in the town, reminiscent of what happened in the South at the height of the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna insurgency in 1989 when bodies, bullet riddled and necklaced with burning tyres lay on the roadside or flowed down the rivers. Residents in Batticaloa allege that several youth, both male and female, have been picked up by unmarked vehicles and it was some of their decapitated bodies that appeared on the roadside with a group calling themselves the 'Black Cobras' claiming responsibility.

What is significant however is that even the Opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party leader Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike in her election campaign has blamed the government for aggravating the crisis and criticised the virtual economic blockade of the north, causing immense hardship to the civilian population as a result of the ongoing conflict. So there is no strong Sinhala consensus that the military exercise should be pursued vigorously.

The heavy casualties particularly among the security forces, has convinced even hardliners in the South that there is no immediate prospect of a decisive military solution.

Political analysts feel that if the government were to win at least 50-60% of the vote in the local elections, President Premadasa would regard it as an endorsement of his leadership and his handling of the national question.

It would also give him greater strength to deal with elements, particularly within the military, who may be wary of a ceasefire declaration, and also allow him considerable authority to take a bold initiative.

Even if both the warring sides agree to talks, there will be fundamental logistical problems. Questions like, will there be a ceasefire? If so will a third party monitor if not observe the ceasefire? With the best of intentions a cessation of hostilities is likely to breakdown given the lack of trust on the part of cadres on the ground, who have proved on occasions in the past that they go by their own ground rules. Even if a ceasefire became effective where can the talks be held. A third country venue would not only be the most desirable but the most practical as well.

The Tigers appear to have ruled out any talks in Colombo on the ground that it will pose a security threat to its frontline leadership. If it is to be held outside the country how will the LTTE leadership be taken out of their jungle hideouts.

On the Sri Lankan side there remains the problem of who will be the principal negotiator. Minister Shahul Hameed who was the government's key negotiator during the 13-month peace dialogue that broke down in June 1990 still commands a measure of confidence with the Tigers. Will the government this time decide to include Textiles and rural Industrial Development Minister S. Thondaman as well since there have been several informal requests to him by the Tamil community to mediate. Or will the delegation be strengthened by the inclusion of Bradman Weerakoon, special advisor to President Premadasa on International Affairs, who has become one of the government's key spokesmen.

It is still unclear as to whether the civil-military balance would in any way be disturbed in a future political decision by the government to resume talks. Hundreds of young soldiers have been killed in battle and the military understandably has taken a very hard-line position as to how the Tigers should be dealt with. On the other hand the military top brass are not unaware that there can be no military solution to the conflict and the sooner the political dialogue gets going the better for the forces themselves.

It is however certain that the forthcoming local government elections are quite important not only in terms of the capacity of the government to deal with domestic economic problems but also to take new initiatives to end the fratricidal warfare that has engulfed the north-east of the island. All indications are that the next few weeks will see the beginning of opening of lines of communication between the two sides.

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People & Politics

INDEMNITY FOR SECURITY FORCES

IT is reported that the government is considering the extension of the controversial Indemnity Act of 1988 which provided security service and police personnel with immunity from prosecution for acts committed under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and Emergency Regulations.

The Indemnity Act was passed 'to restrict the taking of legal proceedings against any person in respect of certain acts and matters done or purported to be done during the period July 1979 to December 31, 1987'. The act also provided that: 'Any action or legal proceeding instituted in any court of law before or after the date of commencement of this Act. . .be deemed to be discharged and made null and void'.

At that time the Act created controversy and was denounced as violating fundamental human rights and the Constitution by human rights organisations.

It is now learnt that the top echelons of the security services are seeking an extension of the immunity to cover actions committed after 1987. If the government were to concede to the demand of the security forces, it would mean that cases filed against any security service personnel that are currently before courts could not be proceeded with and no fresh cases could be instituted in respect of acts committed even after 1987.

★ RE-EMERGENCE OF THE JVP

WITH the massacre of the top leadership of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) and thousands of its alleged cadres, it was claimed by the government that the 'nightmare' was over. But recent reports indicate that the remnants of the JVP have actively begun to regroup themselves.

Somawansa Amerasinghe who took over the leadership of the JVP after the capture and killing of Rohana Wijeweera and Upatissa Gamanayake was reported to have escaped to India with the assistance of a top-ranking army officer who is presently in custody. He is very likely to be in some western capital.

It is believed that some leading cadres of the JVP met on April 2 and formed themselves into a 'Temporary Co-ordinating Committee' and had made certain decisions; and they include:

★ to give leadership to win back its lawful rights and to take such steps and actions necessary to meet that end.

★ to commit itself to fight back against the oppressive and destructive rule by reactionaries.

★ to give leadership to the country to compel the government to withdraw the emergency and repeal all legislation dealing with prevention of terrorism and restore civil administration.

★ to reorganise the Party membership who have been scattered.

★ to take action to secure the release of all political prisoners irrespective of whether there are charges against them or not.

★ to carry out a survey of all persons who were killed or have disappeared and prepare a report to be made public both locally and internationally.

★ to publish a monthly newsletter under the title 'Niyamuwa'.

★ to carry on the struggle to defeat all opportunist forces.

In a 22 page booklet to honour the 'Fallen Youth' of the JVP from 1971-1991 that carries the photographs of its fallen leaders including Rohana Wijeweera, Upatissa Gamanayake, Saman Piyasiri Fernando, Shantha Bandara, H.B. Herath, Wijedasa Liyanarachchi etc., those presently seeking to revive the JVP would appear to take on not only the ruling party and the government but also other opposition parties which they characterise as opportunists. While criticising the UNP leaders for having capitalised politically over the body of Premawathie Mannaperi who was raped and murdered by the troops at Kataragama during the previous ill-fated insurrection in 1971, the booklet has accused the opposition parties of doing likewise now over the bodies of Richard de Zoysa, Liyanarachchi and Wannigama. It also charges the SLFP, LSSP and CP of shedding crocodile tears today over the human tragedy for which the very same combine was also responsible.

★ WHITHER THE CP?

THE arrival of Gorbachev and the developments in the Soviet Union leading to the process of 'de-Stalinisation' followed by the dramatic developments in eastern Europe where the entrenched Stalinist regimes were overthrown following popular upheavals, threw most of the Communist Parties which had previously slavishly owed allegiance to the Moscow line into ideological turmoil. Many parties in the west resolved their political quandary by unceremoniously dropping their ideological baggage together with their name and almost overnight turned themselves into social democratic parties. Some of them totally abandoned Marxism as in the case of the British Communist Party which dissolved itself and the few remaining members formed themselves into some form of a 'discussion club'.

However, changes among the Communist Parties in the countries of the third world have not been so drastic. Some of them have branded Gorbachev as a traitor and still owe allegiance to Stalin whose massive statues have been brought down from their elevated pedestals, broken and melted even in his home state of Georgia in the Soviet Union. Others are struggling in an ideological quagmire.

In the midst of this comes the news that the recently held fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka decided to call for a special party congress next year to determine the party's future strategy in the light of the recent developments in the international communist movement, and also to discuss several problems of theory and practice. Before embracing Gorbachevian perestroika, the CP leadership would appear to have adopted a policy of wait-and-see now that Gorbachev's leadership itself appears to be under assault in the Soviet Union and speculation is rife that a more hardline leadership might take power. It is said that a week in politics is a long time, and a year will give the CP leadership time to tailor its theoretical stance depending on developments in its ideological Mecca, Moscow.

In respect of the current problems facing the island, the Congress called for a return to the search for a political solution within the framework of Sri Lanka's territorial integrity and sovereignty. It also called for recognising the national aspirations and identity of the Tamils and introduction of a satisfactory devolution of new centralised powers and functions to the Tamil areas to be administered by their elected representatives.

★ PRESIDENT'S POMP AND PAGEANTRY

PRESIDENT PREMADASA may be an illustrious example of the rags to riches through politics to Presidency, but the pomp and ceremony that accompany his public functions and appearances are unprecedented and the recent opening of parliament was no exception.

When the President arrived to open the new sessions of the National State Assembly, the 'President was escorted to Parliament House along the drive cutting through the Diyawanna Lake by nineteen mounties in bright red uniforms. A 21-gun salute boomed from the esplanade opposite, adding to the pomp and ceremony of the occasion. The President reviewed a smartly drawn up guard-of-honour from the

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army, navy and airforce. The navy's drum and fife band was in attendance', the state-controlled Daily News reported.

★ LTTE MOVES TO MAKE PEACE WITH RAJIV

RELIABLE reports and recent statements of LTTE stalwarts and spokesmen indicate that the LTTE is in the process of building bridges with the Indian former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi and his Congress(I) in anticipation of the outcome of the forthcoming Indian elections.

The confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE resulted not only in a military battle, but also accusations by the LTTE of the Rajiv government 'Committing genocide against the Tamils' of Sri Lanka. Its spokesmen charged the Indian government of seeking to impose its hegemony over not only the Tamils and Sri Lanka but also over the whole of south-east Asia. The attacks on Rajiv Gandhi in particular became more strident and aggressive during the time LTTE was engaged in confabulations with President Premadasa's government.

It is reported that LTTE spokesmen in Madras made efforts to meet Rajiv Gandhi when he visited Tamil Nadu recently and the man behind this effort was Kasi Anandan, a member of the Central Committee of the Peoples Front of Liberation Tigers (PFLT), the political wing of the LTTE.

In a recent interview, Kasi Anandan said that confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE was 'An unfortunate chapter in our history and it should be totally forgotten by both sides. As far as we are concerned, even when we fought India, we never sought help from Pakistan or China which are inimical to India. We (meaning the LTTE) want to be on the side of India, and we also want India on our side. We have never worked against India at any time'.

Meanwhile it is said that there is much consternation in Colombo, particularly in presidential circles, about the prospect of Congress(I) coming to power and Rajiv Gandhi becoming Prime Minister once again. The fact is not that Rajiv loves Prabhakaran more, but his love for President Premadasa is less because of the shoddy diplomatic manner in which he dealt with the question of the presence of the IPKF in Sri Lanka and its departure.

The view of Rajiv Gandhi and all at the South Block in New Delhi is that, having invited the Indian government to underwrite the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and enforce it by the presence of the IPKF and embroiled the IPKF in a two year military confrontation with the Tigers which cost the Indians much in terms of money, men and prestige, Premadasa had insulted and betrayed India in the way he behaved after succeeding J.R. Jayawardene. The eagerness in Delhi will be to teach President Premadasa a lesson.

Such a state of mind in Delhi may result in the success of the present LTTE's moves. However, Rajiv Gandhi may not be prepared to let down the EPRLF and other associated Tamil groups which stood by the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and the IPKF and which were denounced by the LTTE as 'Indian quislings'. After all it was upon India's insistence and persuasion that the non-LTTE groups ventured into the Provincial Council arena and consequently many of them paid with their lives. EPRLF's pro-Indian stance still remains the same and its leader and former Chief Minister Varatha Raja Perumal is still hosted in a well protected Indian hideout away from the reach of LTTE gunmen. It may be that Rajiv Gandhi will insist upon the Tigers making some accommodation with the other Tamil groups as a quid-pro-quo.

Meanwhile in his recent address to Parliament, Premadasa has made some conciliatory statements expressing his readiness 'to make the necessary accommodations and compromises'. He said:

'The LTTE entered into discussions with the government. During that period we tolerated innumerable provocations. We did so in the interests of peace and reconciliation. We made arrangements for them to contest the elections to the North-East Provincial Council afresh. This would have enabled them to seek a democratic mandate from the people of those areas. Such a mandate, would have enabled them to continue their negotiations with the government as legitimate representatives. However, they re-started an unprovoked attack on security establishments and security personnel last June. That was the beginning of the current conflict in the North and East.

'We stand for the peaceful resolution of problems. We stand for a Sri Lanka in which every ethnic group and every religious denomination are equal partners with one another. We have done so much to translate our aspirations into reality. The language problem which agitated this country for over a quarter century is no longer an issue. Sinhala and Tamil are both official languages. Recruitment to the State Services including the Armed Services and Police are made on merit and ethnic ratio.

'We are determined to break away from the past and cut through years of prejudice and suspicion. We are ready to make the necessary accommodations and compromises. There is no other road towards prosperity. There is no other road towards a united Sri Lanka. Foreign forces came to the North and East because of our disunity. However, we were able to send them away.

'I repeat the Government's invitation to all concerned parties to come to the negotiating table. I do so in the name of the millions of innocent civilians in the North and East. They are compelled to undergo much suffering for no fault of theirs. Negotiations can commence with a declaration to eschew violence as a means of achieving political objectives. It is also necessary to recognise the democratic rights of groups representing other shades of opinion. All parties and groups should be represented by their effective leaders. They must be leaders who are able to subscribe to agreements which will be honoured'.

★ BISHOP ABUSED AND ASSAULTED

IT is not every day that a person holding the exalted position of a Bishop gets abused or assaulted. And when it happens, it must be worthy of a news report if not an editorial comment. But none of the national newspapers make even a mention of a recent incident in which a Roman Catholic Bishop was abused and assaulted.

On 16 March, the Bishop of Mannar, Rt. Rev. Dr. Thomas Savundaranayagam was on his way to Colombo. When he arrived at Vavuniya where he had to pass through an army checkpoint, he was subjected to unprovoked insulting verbal abuse and brutally assaulted by an army officer. It was not as if the army officer did not know the identity of the victim as he was fully dressed in his religious garb befitting the exalted position. If this is the fate of a Bishop, it is not difficult to imagine the plight of the ordinary civilians at the hands of the Sri Lanka security force.

The Jaffna Diocean Priests' Union in a memorandum addressed to the President of the Bishops' Conference in Colombo stated: 'We the priests of Jaffna together with the Bishop were distressed to hear about the assault by an officer of the security forces on Monsignor Tom Savundaranayagam, the Bishop of Mannar on 16 March 1991. We are sure that you are already aware of this incident. However, we would like to express to you our great concern and deep regrets at the escalating degree of violence culminating in the assault on the person of a Bishop of the Catholic Church and the Vice-President of your Conference. May we express the hope that the Bishops' Conference will not look at this as an isolated incident but take it as an example of the suffering inflicted on the innocent civilians by the security forces'.

In a protest memorandum addressed to President Premadasa, the Jaffna

Continued on page 17

LTTE forms 'Shadow Cabinet' to protect Tamils

MADRAS. The LTTE has formed 'a Shadow Cabinet for the Tamil homeland' in Sri Lanka to protect the Tamils there from 'military pressures' such as the offensive now by the Sri Lankan Armed Forces and to help the Tamils cope with the economic embargo imposed on them by Colombo, according to the LTTE leader, Mr. Sathasivam Krishnakumar alias Kittu.

He said over the phone from his residence in London that 'the Shadow Cabinet is functioning normally in all areas' and it aimed at chalking out schemes to protect people from the current military operations and creating self-sufficiency in food production. 'It was functioning in several areas such as the food production department', he said.

'The Shadow Cabinet consists of members from the movement (viz. the LTTE) and capable people from the public', he said.

A large-scale colonisation of the Eastern Province by the Sinhalese was under way. 'Therefore, the Shadow Cabinet's important function is to keep a watch on the colonisation. The Cabinet is doing research and analytical work on our homeland. It is successfully doing something', Mr. Kittu said.

Answering repeated questions on whether the LTTE's formation of a Shadow Cabinet was a prelude to its declaring a separate country, he said, 'It cannot be said it is not a prelude'.

'Circumstances will be created for Eelam': On whether the LTTE planned to declare a separate 'Tamil Eelam', Mr. Kittu said: 'Circumstances do not obtain now for the declaration of Tamil Eelam. But we will create such circumstances. Besides, such circumstances will happen naturally and historically'.

Asked whether the Shadow Cabinet consisted of LTTE leaders such as Mr. Yogi and Mr. Mahatiya, he said the composition of the Shadow Cabinet had not been revealed to the outside world.

Mr. Kittu said: 'A maximum-scale offensive' by the Sri Lankan Armed Forces was under way in the entire Northern Province of the island and the Army was trying to occupy the North. The LTTE was fighting the Army and both sides had sustained 'heavy casualties'.

The soldiers were trying to advance from Silavathurai in Mannar district towards Mannar town and Madhu area, from Vavuniya town to Thandikulam and towards Mannar. The LTTE was resisting their advance near Silavathurai, Madhu Church area, Thandikulam, Veppamkulam and on the Vavuniya-Mannar road.

'INDIA NEVER SUPPORTED EELAM' – HIGH COMMISSIONER

Indian High Commissioner N.N. Jha has told reporters in Madras that the LTTE should not hesitate to contest elections and prove to the world its claim of being the sole representative of the Lankan Tamil people.

He said so when asked about the usefulness of having talks with other Lankan Tamil groups when the Tamil people supported the LTTE which called the shots in the Tamil areas.

The Hindu of April 20 and 21 which wrote about Mr. Jha's meeting with the Madras press, quoted Mr. Jha as saying: 'There is a basic inconsistency in the LTTE's claim that it is the most popular group in the north-eastern province of the island, but that other groups would not be allowed to exist or contest elections.

'This is a natural contradiction. If the LTTE is sure of its stand and it calls the shots, there must be no objection to its standing for elections'.

Asked about the LTTE's recent statement that it wanted India to mediate, he said the LTTE had said, on and off, that India should mediate in the Tamil problem. It had also said India's role could only be humanitarian and not political. The LTTE should make up its mind on its approach to India and make it clear.

'It is for India to decide what role, if any, it would play anywhere in the world. I don't think the LTTE or anybody else can define this role for us. The LTTE should realise, once and for all, that the question of secession in Sri Lanka is not on as far as the government of India is concerned. They know this point and should be aware of this', he said.

He reiterated: 'India's policy never supported Tamil Eelam and the LTTE was aware of it. The Indian policy stood by the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987. Though it might not be an ideal document, India has to stick by it absolutely'.

He said the Tamil Nadu government had asked him to protest at the shooting of Indian fishermen by the Sri Lanka Navy and he would take up the matter with Colombo.

He said the Sri Lanka Navy should adopt the accepted international procedures of dealing with fishermen who enter their territorial waters and not fire on or kill them.

Meanwhile an LTTE spokesman in London, Sathasivam Krishnakumar (Kittu), has told *The Hindu* that the LTTE has formed 'a shadow cabinet' to look after the northern and eastern provinces, but he declined to elaborate or explain.

He said the 'shadow cabinet' comprised LTTE leaders and capable civilians, but declined to name them. The priority aim of the 'shadow cabinet' was to draw up schemes to protect civilians from the military operation, Kittu said.

Bid to capture Prabhakaran

A major operation to capture Velupillai Prabhakaran, the elusive leader of the LTTE, will be launched shortly, a senior military official revealed.

The LTTE operational headquarters where Prabhakaran is believed to be holed up has been spotted in the dense jungles of Nedunkerni Division in the Vavuniya District.

Prabhakaran who is commanding the LTTE from this jungle hideout, according to military sources, is believed to be trapped there, due to the military operations conducted by the security forces.

The highly fortified LTTE base is also believed to be providing security to several other top LTTE leaders. Intercepted LTTE messages have given vital clues to the security forces and helped them analyse the characteristics of the base which could be the LTTE's strongest jungle-fortification.

This operation seen by defence analysts as the most vital move to break the backbone of the LTTE was delayed for logistical reasons. A large force of men and armour are expected to be involved in this operation.

'The base is their pride. As long as it stands, the Tigers will be there. So it's our aim to destroy it along with its builders', a defence official said.

Air Force helicopters are now taking on suspected LTTE targets in the jungles of Vavuniya in a prelude to the Prabhakaran hunt.

MALAYSIAN PEACE MOVE DENIED

Government has denied a report in *The Hindu* that Sri Lanka had sought the mediation of the Malaysian government to bring a negotiated settlement to the ethnic conflict between the Sri Lanka government and the LTTE.

The Presidential Advisor on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bradman Weerakon said that the report was totally false, incorrect and mischievous. The report which appeared on the front page of the South Indian based

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Access

Continued from page 7

English daily *The Hindu* is a total fabrication and the imagination of interested individuals, Mr. Weerakoon said.

The government had at no stage asked the Malaysian Government to mediate in the ten-year long conflict, and it does not desire to do so even in the future, Mr. Weerakoon said.

Defence Secretary, General Cyril Ranatunga and senior Foreign Ministry officials could not be reached for comment in this regard yesterday.

Malaysia's High Commissioner in Colombo, Dato Omardin said he was not aware of any such request by the Sri Lanka government. Malaysia has always maintained a strong policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of another independent and sovereign state. 'We continue to maintain that policy', the envoy said.

He added that if there was any move by the Sri Lanka government to seek the mediation of his country, that would have been notified to his diplomatic mission. It is therefore clear that the report in the Indian newspaper is false, he added.

The Hindu in its April 7th issue stated that the Malaysian government is trying to mediate between the Sri Lankan authorities and the LTTE. The report which quoted LTTE sources, said that Sri Lanka's High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur Mr. C. Rajadurai had spoken to the Malaysian Minister in this connection.

The report added that the LTTE was happy that the Malaysian Government was trying to mediate on the ethnic issue, but it also felt that these efforts would not bear any fruit without India's participation. The LTTE made it plain that India should be involved in any negotiation, the newspaper stated.

The report also quoted the LTTE's London representative, Sathasivam Krishnakumar alias Kittu saying that the Malaysian Government had shown interest in the matter. 'We got a message from the Malaysian Government that they want to talk to us but the LTTE has not formulated its response yet, Kittu was quoted by the newspaper.

CHINESE BOAT FOR NAVY

The Sri Lanka Navy has taken delivery of a new Chinese-built landing craft that would add more punch to its amphibious warfare operations which had emerged as a key element in the government's 'counter-terrorist' campaign, military sources said.

The new light landing craft, with a carrying capacity of 50 tons, arrived on April 1 and was unloaded the following morning sources said.

Over 400 of the same craft were being used by the Chinese Navy, they added.

They said the craft was built and delivered within three months because it was originally meant for the Chinese Navy.

'We were able to get it so soon and at a very favourable price because of the good relations between China and Sri Lanka.

The acquisition was made on a government-to-government basis following negotiations conducted through the ambassadors of both countries.

A key advantage of the new landing craft was that it had a very shallow draught allowing it to sail in very shallow waters, sources said.

The craft could operate from any naval base, including Kalpitiya and Karainagar because of its shallow draught. Right now those two bases could not be used by the Navy's existing two landing craft, which were bigger, having a carrying capacity of 100 tons, they said.

Also the cargo bay of the new landing craft had a built-in-steel cover to prevent the cargo getting wet while in transit at sea.

The Navy's existing two LCMs, both acquired from Singapore, did not have that protection.

Sources said the new light landing craft was armed with two twin 14.5 Chinese anti-aircraft cannons.

The Navy is expected to take delivery of a fourth landing craft, slightly bigger than the latest one, within the next six months. This is being built by the state-run Colombo Dockyard Ltd. (CDL).

Sources added that landing craft had been used on several occasions during operations against the Tigers.

Tamil refugees in India given option to return

Sri Lanka is making preparations to accommodate about 210,000 refugees living in South India who are being given the option to return following high level discussions between Foreign Secretary, Bernard Tillekeratne and Indian Deputy External Affairs Minister, Digvijay Singh in New Delhi, according to government sources.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Social Welfare said all refugees would be given a choice as to whether they wished to return to Sri Lanka. 'The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which will be actively involved in the process of repatriation, has placed special emphasis on the principle that these people must decide to return of their own free will, and that no force or pressure be applied', he said.

The Sri Lanka government sees no problems with the return of these refugees and will accept them since they are all citizens of Sri Lanka, he said.

According to plans, they will arrive at Talaimannar and will be transported to their home areas. If the security situation in the area prevents them from returning to their homes, the government hopes to provide temporary shelter for them in refugee camps in the Mannar area, he said.

According to Lankan officials, the government of India has agreed to bear a substantial part of the expense of repatriation and rehabilitation of the refugees.

A similar agreement had previously been reached in 1987 between the governments of the two countries, through which 42,000 refugees who were living in camps in Tamil Nadu had been voluntarily repatriated to Sri Lanka from 1987 to 1989.

SLFP WANTS COUNTRY PUT ON 'WAR FOOTING

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party has called on the Government to stop treating the war in the North and East as a 'mere side show'. The Government should set the country on a 'war footing', by giving an example of austerity to the people and set about giving the armed forces the necessary support, military supplies and political leadership to win the war speedily before it is too late, the SLFP has said.

The SLFP has also expressed concern and dismay over reports of the deteriorating situation in the northern and eastern provinces, and the mounting toll of casualties.

'It is apparent that the Government has failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation or to give our armed forces who are fighting valiantly to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our motherland, the necessary support, supplies, equipment and political leadership', the SLFP has alleged in a statement.

Though the government has not been able to provide necessary funds to purchase essential items for the troops, it appears to have an inexhaustible supply of funds for wasteful and extravagant tamashas and even to provide floodlights at Khettarama Stadium to enable games to be played by night, the SLFP has charged.

THE DMK LINEUP IN TAMIL NADU

MADRAS, April 17. The DMK President, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, will seek re-election to the Tamil Nadu Assembly from the Harbour Constituency in North Madras.

The decision ends all speculation triggered by his earlier hint about his desire to opt out of the contest to make way for someone else.

His name figures in the first party list of 138 contestants (of them 80 are members of the dissolved Assembly), including six women, to the Assembly and 24 to the Lok Sabha. Only one woman finds a place in the Lok Sabha list. The names were released by Mr. Karunanidhi here.

Among those renominated to the Assembly are the Speaker, Mr. Tamizhkudimagan, and 11 former Ministers – Messrs. K. Anbazhagan, K. Manoharan, Arcot N. Veeraswami, Durai Murugan, Veerapandi S. Arumugam, K.N. Nehru, Ko Si Mani, Pon Muthuramalingam, S. Thangavel, M. Kannappan, Dr. Ponmudi and L. Ganesan, (Parliamentary Secretary to the former Chief Minister).

Mr. K.P. Kandaswami, Dr. K. Chandrasekharan and Mr. K. Sundaram, former Ministers, will contest for the Lok Sabha.

Shifted

Of the 14 city Assembly constituencies, candidates for 11 have been announced. Mr. Anbazhagan, general secretary of the party, who contested the election from Anna Nagar last time has been shifted to the Chepauk constituency held by the IUML leader, Mr. M.A. Latheef, in the dissolved Assembly. The name of Mr. N. Ganapathy, who contested from the Mylapore constituency in the 1989 elections is not found in the list. The constituency has been allotted to Mrs. Nirmala Suresh.

Releasing the first list at the party headquarters, Mr. Karunanidhi told reporters that over 3,000 had applied for the ticket and selection was made on the basis of the suggestions made by the party's executive, general council and administrative committee.

The Tamil Nadu unit of the Indian Union Muslim League (Samad) has decided to go it alone in the forthcoming elections in Tamil Nadu.

The State Executive of the party which concluded its two day session yesterday adopted a resolution not to have any truck with either the AIADMK or any party which had alliance with the AIADMK including the Congress(I). It was also decided to put up its candidates in 8 Lok Sabha constituencies and 44 Assembly segments in Tamil Nadu and in 7 Assembly segments in Pondicherry.

The Executive characterised certain remarks made to the press by Ms. Jayalalitha, general secretary of the AIADMK about the Tamil Nadu unit of the IUML and its leadership, as derogatory and a travesty of truth deserving total condemnation.

The reported remark of Ms. Jayalalitha that the alliance with the IUML was not desirable, only betrayed her arrogance and ignorance of politics, since the IUML never had any direct alliance with her party. The Executive also decided to have alliance with other parties which would accept the ideologies of the IUML.

Stating that it was unfortunate that the Tamil Nadu Congress(I) had not done anything at its command to heal the injury caused to his organisation, Mr. Samad said that while he had great regard for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the leadership of Mr. Gandhi's party in Tamil Nadu was more inclined to play second fiddle to the AIADMK. He recalled that the IUML had a smooth relationship with the Congress(I) when it was captained by persons who cherished parties which had alliance with the Congress(I).

Cong., AIADMK seek vote for stability

MADRAS, April 18. The AIADMK-Congress(I) Democratic Front today launched its election campaign at a rally on the Marina with the leaders of the two principal partners, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Ms. Jayalalitha, issuing a fervent appeal for electing a strong and stable government at the Centre and a corruption-free government in Tamil Nadu.

While Ms. Jayalalitha, who spoke first, underscored the need for a strong Centre to put down fissiparous and anti-national tendencies that she said had surfaced in the recent past, Mr. Gandhi said that for development of States such as Tamil Nadu there should be a spirit of cooperation between the Centre and the State.

Mr. Gandhi said the two Governments at the Centre in the last 15 months had failed to fulfil the promises. Tamil Nadu also did not witness any development during this period mainly due to the absence of work between the Centre and the State. Several programmes evolved by leaders like Indira Gandhi for the welfare of the poor and downtrodden were thrown to the wind. The security of the nation and law and order became the main issues of discussions in Tamil Nadu smuggling of arms and drugs and gunrunning became a routine.

Charge against NF Govt

Mr. Gandhi said that only by electing the Congress(I) and the AIADMK, the people could hope to have a stable government. This was only a beginning and a lot of work had to be done for the welfare of the common man by mutual cooperation. He also charged the National Front with backtracking on the reservation policy which it pushed through so hard. It was the Congress(I) and Kamaraj who gave the reservations for the uplift of the backward classes in Tamil Nadu. And it was Nehru who brought a constitutional amendment to fulfil the promise made by the Congress. But the National Front had made a mockery of it.

The Congress had mooted several welfare programmes for the amelioration of the poor in its manifesto. 'For the National Front all issues, including reservations, are a political gimmick, used to fool the people and not to help them. During the non-Congress rule at the Centre and the DMK rule in Tamil Nadu even issues concerning the people like provision of drinking water remained unimplemented'.

Describing the present election as a crusade against 'authoritarian rule, communal frictions and anti-national activities', Ms. Jayalalitha said the country was passing through a crucial stage and the people should be wary of all developments both political and social. The people had now realised the consequence of electing minority governments at the Centre and this should make them think twice before exercising their franchise.

One of the central national issues was Ram Janmabhoomi. Unfortunately this had created a lot of communal friction even jeopardising the unity of the country and some political parties were bent upon using the issue to gain mileage. While the BJP and VHP were mobilising support for construction of the temple, the Babri Masjid Committee was opposing any move against status quo. Even while speaking at the National Integration Council meeting held some time back in Madras she said she had urged the need

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Congress (I) renews commitment to Indo-Lanka Accord

By K.K. Katyal

The Congress (I) manifesto pays special attention to foreign policy while other parties have given it a scanty treatment. But, as in the past, foreign affairs are unlikely to be a major issue in the campaign.

'Isn't it significant – this reference to the nuclear policy in the Congress (I) manifesto?' commented a senior diplomat, a day after the party president, Rajiv Gandhi, released the document. Three other diplomats, participants in the animated discussion on the coming poll at a cocktail party, nodded approval.

They had in mind a sentence under the sub-head 'atomic energy', which said: 'In case Pakistan persists in the development of nuclear weapons, India will be constrained to review her policy to meet the threat'. One of them had already done a bit of – 'the Congress (I) manifesto last time did not go that far'.

Manifestos, it is clear, are taken seriously by others, even when the reaction within the country borders on cynicism. The stand taken by different parties, especially those perceived as future rulers, is scanned carefully and attempts are made to find hidden meanings in vague formulations. Special attention is paid to foreign policy. This is dealt with at length in the Congress (I) manifesto while other parties have been content with scanty treatment of this subject, important though it is doubtlessly. But as in the past foreign affairs are unlikely to be a major issue in the campaign.

The manifesto does not reflect the tilt against the U.S. evident from Mr. Gandhi's utterances on the Gulf and related issues or from his campaign against the refuelling of U.S. military planes at the time of the fighting in the Gulf. Its various formulations are certainly not in tune with what some among the party rank and file, in their over-enthusiasm, ascribed to him. Didn't the placards carried by some party members at the time of Mr. Gandhi's departure for the 'peace' trip abroad proclaim – duniya mein hain do hinam – Rajiv Gandhi aur Saddam (only two names matter in the world – Rajiv Gandi and Saddam Hussain).

'We will enlarge', says the manifesto, 'the area of mutual understanding and cooperation with the U.S. and achieve a further improvement in relations'. This may be a routine statement but the fact remains that Indo U.S. ties acquired a new dimension in various fields, including defence, during Mr. Gandhi's years in office. He built upon the foundations laid by his mother.

A party in office tends to moderate the extremism adopted by it while in the Opposition. The Congress (I) may not be an exception – assuming that it is lucky at the hustings. This much is evident from its agenda for action in external affairs.

Extreme caution

At times, the caution is carried to the extreme limit. Take the case of neighbourhood diplomacy. Our neighbours, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh (Pakistan falls in a different category for one reason and Bhutan and the Maldives in another) are keen to know the deal they will get from New Delhi in case the Congres (I) returns to power.

More specific on Sri Lanka

What it says of Sri Lanka is a slightly more specific-reiteration of the commitment to the India – Sri Lanka Agreement of July 1987 as the basis for the settlement of outstanding issues relating to the Tamil population of the island and to 'continue its endeavour to find solutions to problems in a manner that will secure the rights of the Sri Lankan Tamils, safeguard India's national security interests and ensure territorial integrity of Sri Lanka'.

Some of the statements on the performance of the National Front Government are open to question. Witness this one, 'Owing to neglect by the National Front Government and its successor', the time-tested friendship with the Soviet Union has stagnated in the last 15 months. Only recently, Mr. Gandhi met the Soviet President, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, and would certainly have been briefed on the problems, economic and political, faced by the latter. What happened in the Soviet Union lately is no secret even otherwise. Stagnation – if that is the right word – is the outcome of the momentous changes in the Soviet Union and not of the lack of efforts on India's part. If India's economic and defence relations with Moscow have been affected, the reasons are to be found in the domestic problems of the Soviet Union. Last year's visit to the Soviet Union of Mr. V.P. Singh was a success given the new constraints in bilateral dealings. At the political level, the two sides have maintained contact and shown appreciation of each other's limitations and compulsions.

It is only towards the end of the chapter that a note of moderation is struck – 'on specific foreign policy issues, the Congress will seek to evolve a common approach so that, to the maximum extent possible, India speaks in one voice'.

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for negotiations between both the parties for reaching an amicable solution and this should be accepted by both the sides. She stressed that the issue should not be made an election issue.

Why DMK Govt. was dismissed

In a broadside against the DMK, Ms. Jayalalitha said that while the DMK President, Mr. Karunanidhi described the dismissal of his Government as a murder of democracy, actually the people knew the real truth. It was unfortunate that even some national leaders sang in chorus with Mr. Karunanidhi. The Government was dismissed for its 'anti-national activities', she said and added that the coastal areas of Tamil Nadu had become a haven for smuggling arms and drugs endangering the safety of the people and security of the State.

Recalling the attack on her inside the Assembly and also the lorry accident in which she was injured, she said that they were only attempts to eliminate her. All doctors and experts who attended on her were even threatened and put under surveillance. All these were done under instructions from Mr. Karunanidhi and with the help of some police officers. The people had already rejected the DMK even during the Lok Sabha elections in 1989, she said and added that a vote for the democratic front would be a vote against evils and anti-people activities.

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PROPOSALS FOR PEACE BY HINDU COUNCIL

The Council of Hindu Organisations has issued the following statement on the situation in the North-East Province:

On June 11th 1990 renewed fighting suddenly erupted between the Government of Sri Lanka and the L.T.T.E. in the North-East Province. No public statement was issued, either by the Government or the L.T.T.E., as to the issues discussed and the points of disagreement during the fifteen months of warm and cordial relationship that preceded the renewed conflict.

Nine months have passed and there is no indication of a cessation of hostilities. Destruction of persons and property is taking place on a large scale. Though the Government had announced at the outset that this war was not against the Tamils but only against the L.T.T.E. every month innocent civilians are dying by the score and a large number of public buildings and private houses are being destroyed. Refugees numbering one million are eking out an existence in very poor living conditions.

There is a general scarcity of food, fuel and medicines. Whatever is available can only be purchased at a heavy price. There is no electricity, postal, telecommunication or transport services. Trade and commerce are drastically curtailed. Government servants and pensioners are not regularly paid and there is a general scarcity of cash for daily transactions. Normal life is at a standstill and people are suffering great hardships and untold misery. The North-East Province is turning into a waste land, a scorched earth and many people are leaving the area in desperation.

The Media in Sri Lanka for various reasons are not reporting these tragic developments. Unfortunately, the international media find these happenings a common occurrence and have lost their interest. Added to this the Gulf conflict has pushed other developments in the world to a corner.

As citizens of a multi-ethnic and a multi-religious Sri Lanka we are bringing the sufferings of the peoples of the North-East Province to the attention of our fellow citizens, the Government and the L.T.T.E. in the hope that prompt steps would be taken to alleviate the situation by stopping the fighting as a first step. If the North-East Province is a part of Sri Lanka, then what is happening there should be known and be the concern of fellow citizens in the rest of Sri Lanka. Otherwise we abdicate our responsibility as fellow citizens of a democratic country and weaken our claim for a united Sri Lanka. Turning a blind eye to the sufferings of a large section of our people is the first step to alienation and separation. Moreover, political stability, economic progress and social justice will be adversely affected in the country as a whole if one part of it is in the continuous grip of violence and instability.

We welcome the statement of the Prime Minister, who is also the new State Minister of Defence that the Government is 'not seeking a military solution'. He has also added 'the doors are still open for discussion and negotiations'. Since independence four decades ago this question has been under discussion and negotiation at various meetings of representatives of the people, be they between leaders, at Parliament and at All Party Conferences. A compromise solution has been found and it is now a question of implementation. Failure to implement agreed solutions has been the bane of our body politic. The Sinhala-Tamil problem has taken a turn for the worse with every failure in implementation. Let us not allow history to repeat itself.

It has been our consistent demand that without delay the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of July 29th, 1987 should be fully implemented. This was the first time since independence that a compromise settlement was reached, which reconciled the basic concerns of the Sinhalese and the Tamils and provided for devolution of powers in the context of the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. The necessary legislation establishing the constitutional framework was adopted by Parliament and approved by the people at the successive provincial, presidential and parliamentary elections. India guaranteed the Agreement without which the Tamils would not have accepted the Agreement.

Unfortunately, the Agreement was only partially implemented. A lawless situation developed after the withdrawal of the Indian Peace Keeping Force from the North-East Province. The duly elected Provincial Council could not function for want of security and was subsequently dissolved. The seeds of a renewed conflict were sown by this development.

As advocates of a united Sri Lanka, where every citizen should enjoy freedom, equality and justice, we wish to suggest a package of proposals to alleviate the situation in the North-East Province and restore peace and normalcy. The Government of Sri Lanka:-

1) to announce an immediate cessation of hostilities. The L.T.T.E. to respond positively.

2) to ensure that sufficient supplies of food, fuel and medicines are sent regularly to the International Committee of the Red Cross, who in co-ordination with the Government Agent, will distribute them.

3) to announce that it would fully implement without delay the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of July 29th, 1987.

4) to nominate an Interim Council for the North-East Province in consultation with the parties who were elected to the North-East Provincial Council. The Interim Council should proportionately comprise representatives of parties elected at the Provincial Council elections. The L.T.T.E. should be invited to join. Subjects assigned to the Interim Council should also include law and order, education, health, land development, relief and rehabilitation of refugees. The Interim Council should function till the Provincial Council comes into being after a free and fair election.

5) to initiate negotiations with the L.T.T.E. after the cessation of hostilities takes effect. This should lead to laying down of arms and reciprocal measures by the Government. A practical approach is necessary in this regard. The Government of Sri Lanka is the other party to this conflict and cannot expect to supervise or monitor the cessation of hostilities and the laying down of arms. A neutral force is, therefore, necessary for this purpose. An Indian Peace Keeping Force could be invited for this operation as India guaranteed in the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of July 29th, 1987. If India is unable to send a Peace Keeping Force, then a friendly country like Canada, Australia, Sweden or Norway could be approached. Arms should be laid down by all militant groups, home guards and private militias. Simultaneously, the Sri Lankan Government should close down all security forces camps established since 1977 and the security forces in the remaining camps should be confined to their barracks. This applies to the North-East Province.

It was with the 1977 General Elections that the fight for Eelam started and the T.U.L.F. was returned in large numbers on this ticket. The Government took counter measures by opening new camps and sending large contingents of security forces to the North. The status quo ante should be restored as at 1977.

The Police should maintain law and order as in normal times and early action should be taken to hold Provincial Council elections. Opportunity should be given to the Provincial Government and the Council to function without let or hindrance. The Peace Keeping Force should remain till the

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Book Review

Thondaman – A Unique Sri Lankan Politician

THE YEAR WAS 1873 and in a hamlet in Ramnad, South India a lad of 13 years was ready to run away from home but not before he invoked the blessings of the reigning deity of the village. He was soon going to be on the high road to the hill district of Sri Lanka travelling from Pampan to Pesalai by boat and walking all the way to Gampola. It was a journey that took eight days.

It was a time of prolonged drought in many parts of Madras State and the rural folks were fleeing in waves to the towns and in search of virtual slave employment, succour and shelter. They also went overseas – Burma, Malaysia, Fiji, Mauritius, South Africa and even as far as the West Indies, mostly as indentured labourers to clear forests and prepare lands for the plantation industry and to build roads.

The lad was Karuppaiah who within two years of slaving for a wily kankani found his feet and steadily built up for himself a career in the world of trade through sheer hard work and total dedication. It was in this kind of background a future Sri Lankan leader and without parallel one who never compromised his political purposes and obligations was born, nurtured from infancy and encouraged by a totally dedicated father to be a real man in the world.

This man is Savumiamoorthy Thondaman who though he was born in Sri Lanka spent a good part of his youthful years in Ramnad with his grandparents and it was his intense desire to attend a school that brought him back to Sri Lanka. From an early age he became very methodical in whatever he undertook particularly in managing finances which to his father was almost a sacred obligation that should be observed everyday and also became familiar with the problems and issues of the grassroots in respect of the Indian Tamil community – his very own.

A major influence in his life has been the visit of Mahatma Gandhi to Sri Lanka in 1927. In a public lecture in Kandy, Gandhi directing his focus on the planting community which was largely British told the planters that they should consider themselves the trustees of not only the body but also the soul of the labourers and asked them to take personal interest in the lives of their workers.

He was also greatly influenced by the Bagavad Gita particularly Lord Krishna's preaching that 'doing one's duty was vital even if it meant destroying one's own relatives and friends'.

These and other very interesting information, anecdotes and more than anything very valuable observations and incidents form two recent publications which are of great historical importance to Sri Lanka, the Indian Immigration issue, and the Sri Lankan Tamil struggle for liberation.

The first one MY LIFE AND TIMES is an autobiography, Thondaman's story of the Hill Country, the plantation industry of the Britishers and an invaluable view on the socio-economic and historical upsurge of the whole country told by a man who was part of it for 50 years and still going strong. Commenting on the book Prof. Ralph Buultjens observed that it is the raw material of modern Sri Lankan history.

The second one, a biographical tribute by a well-known Sri Lankan journalist is titled OUT OF BONDAGE which indeed is an appropriate one for the story of a man who led a million people out of one of the worst kinds of slavery and socio-political oppression any community could have suffered. Thondaman was indeed the Moses of the Indian plantation workers and it was the strong feelings that he shared with his people despite the fact that he could have opted for a life of luxury in the country's capital, and his political acumen that won the deliverance of the Indian Tamil population of Sri Lanka's hill districts from their political statelessness and socio-economic oppression.

They had no basic rights other than being bonded to the various estates and traded along with them a marketable commodities, and they had no citizenship o franchise and lived in the most appalling of conditions. In fact it is these people who built the basic structure on which Sri Lanka's economy was based and even today it is their labour that produces the island's most important commercial product and without doubt the world's best cup of tea. Yet almost the very first act of independent Sri Lanka was to disenfranchise them and reduce them to a state pf penury that bears the inhuman hallmarks of South Africa's dreaded apartheid system. Sri Lanka's record of dealing with minorities, however, continues to be racially jingoist.

Authored by T. Sabaratnam, OUT OF BONDAGE is an exceptional book of great many political revelations and the weaknesses and strengths of the various leaders who have determined the course of Sri Lanka's post independent history.

Commenting on both Junius Jayewardene and Srimavo Bandaranaike, in an interview with Sabaratnam, Thondaman appears to have observed that the former was quite sympathetic towards the Indian Tamil problem and was anxious to solve it once and for all. In 1988 this dream and the years of struggle came to a successful fruition and Thondaman's role in this was crucial. As for Mrs. Bandaranaike it was his conviction that she lacked sympathy for the stateless Indians. After all it must be remembered that it was her husband Solomon Bandaranaike who once said that he would sleep easy only after the last Indian left the shores of Sri Lanka. He was also the architect of the Sinhala Only legislation and Sri Lanka has since then been embroiled in a bloody Sinhala-Tamil confrontation with not even a glimmer of hope of peace and sanity in the near future.

Thondaman also indicated that Mrs. Bandaranaike had no understanding of the Indian problem as well and added that even if she had attempted to solve the problem, Junius Jayewardene the wily politician that he is would never have allowed her to grant back their citizenship and win over their votes for her party.

MY LIFE AND TIMES published by the Media Council of the National Workers Congress (72 Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7) and OUT OF BONDAGE a publication of the Sri Lanka Indian Community Council are two very valuable works for any student of Sri Lankan politics in particular and those interested in issues such as bonded labour, rural migration and Third World political expediences that are determined by issues of race, caste and religion in general. These books also provide a valuable insight into the plantation industry and how it affected the traditional and environmentally friendly agricultural, handicraft and artisanry systems that have adequately sustained rural populations.

One may not agree with all the views of Thondaman and some of his actions may be justifiably criticised but in founding and managing a trade union in the circumstances in which his people lived, his determination to fight all his battles using the weapon of non-violence and his trust in the parliamentary processes have made him a unique Sri Lankan politician and indeed Savumiamoorthy Thondaman is one such and this is a very rare political blessing for the Sri Lankans – every Sri Lankan whatever his or her political ideology may be or whatever community or religious faith to which they may belong.

Richards Karunairajan.

CYCLONE RAVAGES BANGLADESH

THE PEOPLE of Bangladesh rank among the poorest of the world. They have also faced regular natural calamities on account of their country's geographical position – the Himalayan hills in the north and the plains stretching out to the Bay of Bengal in the south with a land criss-crossed by many major rivers and hundreds of tributaries.

The recent cyclone and tidal waves that hit Bangladesh caused one of the worst tragedies of this century killing an estimated 200,000 and devastating agricultural lands and farm stocks and razing to the ground thousands of dwellings. In the aftermath of this disaster four million people are now under threat of disease and death due to the lack of clean water, medical facilities and food.

Three hundred years ago Bengal – Bangladesh today – was one of the world's greatest centres of handicraft production. The rich delta land enabled agriculture to flourish and organised parish-type life was an intrinsic part of stable grassroot communities.

Today, the nation of farmers, craftsmen, technicians and artistes has to a great extent become an impoverished community of people who earn their bare livelihood by hiring out their labour for menial jobs and eking out an existence from denuded tracts of lands edged out of development inputs.

Even rural industries have suffered. Skilled labour and such vital infrastructures like energy, technology – modern, traditional and appropriate, and communications facilities of all kinds do not exist. There has been appallingly low investment in this field so vital for the economic development of Bangladesh.

In respect of flood and cyclonic damages, why is it countries like Holland against floods and the US state of California against earthquakes are able to minimise vastly the damages caused through nature's fury while millions in Bangladesh continue to be vulnerable and become regular victims of such disasters?

A proud people of yesteryears and the inheritors of a rich culture of music, arts and literature are today in their thousands offering their labour in many towns and cities of Europe and the Middle East.

It is true that deadly storms, cyclones and tornadoes cannot be tamed but surely their impact can be greatly minimised. Unfortunately corruption which is probably the biggest factor of under-development in the South Asian region will continue to prevail and one cannot be optimistic that any future fury of nature will not carry with it the type of devastation that occurred recently. It could be even worse.

The people of the delta regions have a right to immediate help and support from the authorities in Dacca and furthermore measures that can vastly minimise damage should be undertaken as a matter of urgency. But one can very confidently surmise that very little will be done in this direction and the desperately poor in Bangladesh and the tragedy that they suffered will soon be forgotten – even in Dacca.

INDIA FACES CRUCIAL

GENERAL ELECTION fever in India has reached a Himalayan tempo and in a few days the world's largest democratic state will go to a mid-term polls with a worrying pessimism that all is not well and what lies ahead is chaos and anarchy.

The elections could either be a landslide for a much tarnished Congress (I) and its leader Rajiv Gandhi if the Indians are sick of splinter elements that have come to the forefront or could continue to be inconclusive to allow the forces of fundamentalism which hitherto has been simmering below surface like a near extinct volcano, to assume a new posture of potential terror.

Unfortunately, India's political integrity has taken a headlong dive, Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy and words of great human wisdom all but forgotten and a corrupt bureaucracy on a massive scale has become a catalyst amidst raging passions of regionalism, communalism and religious fanaticism.

achieved anything yet in India's history this period and his decision to hand over the seals of his office will occupy a niche of some hope and decency. In a television broadcast announcing his resignation Chandra Shekar said that his decision was made to save the dignity of the nation.

Thus he not only freed himself from the dependency of his government on the Rajiv Gandhi-led Congress (I) but also expressed in clear terms that he was not prepared, in the national interest, to play a puppet on a string to the interests of another who was electorally dethroned and was biding his time for an opportune moment to recapture what he had lost at the last polls. At one time it was even feared that Rajiv Gandhi may assume power

South Asian Comm

A sad feature of the Indian scene is that despite all the ambitious development plans and gigantic agriculture and industrial projects launched by successive Nehru governments, racial and religious passions under the guise of regional nationalism began to thrive on grounds nurtured to fertility by corruption and discrimination.

V.P. Singh as prime minister battled against all odds to clean up India's political mess and in this Herculean task he was overwhelmed for such is the daunting nightmare that faces the country. Being an honest man himself he was not willing to participate in political skullduggery, bargaining with portfolios and compromising on principles that are vital to ensure that the problems India is confronted with are reckoned and dealt with accordingly.

Ultra nationalist elements have also begun to ride the bandwagon flying the flags of sentiments and glories of India's historical past.

Chandra Shekar's prime ministership for four months hardly

through the back door helped by India's President Venkataraman.

Fearing this possibility Tamil Nadu's former chief minister Karunanidhi warned that the president may face impeachment should Gandhi be called to form the government. In fact the seat of the president, Rashtrapati Bhavan was publicly ridiculed as Congress Bhavan and another Indian leader Advani said there will be riots in north India should Gandhi take over office.

Today India stands at the threshold of great uncertainty with its national unity threatened by caste, class, clan and communal convulsions and an inflation that betrays the economic and foreign exchange crisis it faces. India has also continued to be plagued by issues and passions of neighbouring states making regional cooperation a fanciful pipe dream.

In the south and across the Palk Straits Gandhi's incapacity to make serious and strong decisions came to grief in the handling of the Sri Lankan Affair. He had all the opportunity to bring about a just solutiono to the island's long-standing ethnic strife yet he chose the wrong

POLLS

advisers dispensing with men of proven integrity familiar with the problem and Colombo's senseless intransigency, and in the end found himself out-manoeuvred by the wily Sri Lankan President, Junius Jayewardene *and the Indian forces bearing the so-called peace keepers' banner outgunned by the Tamil Tigers.*

The violence perpetrated on the Sri Lankan Tamils by the Indian Peace Keeping Forces was only superseded by the current military adventure and outrage by the forces of President Ranasinghe Premadasa in the northern and eastern provinces. Had Rajiv Gandhi listened to the good counsels of the men of great wisdom who advised his mother in respect of Sri Lanka, with the opportunity he had, he could have created a good climate for economic cooperation between mighty India and

strategically situated Sri Lanka and also made sure that Sri Lanka is free from the import of military hardware that could threaten India from its southern regions. Indeed Sri Lanka playing a game of Chinese crackers is placing the integrity of the South Asian region in serious jeopardy *and it appears Gandhi never had the vision to see this kind of lurking threat to the region in general and India in particular.*

Today the Congress (I), India's major political party is in dire straits. The forthcoming elections is virtually the last chance for India to salvage itself from an impending political chaos and this demands statesmanship of a very high order India had in abundance during the days of Nehru and Shastri.

India needs to meditate as a nation in composed and sacred silence and listen to the voice of Mahatma Gandhi and take democracy back to the grassroots – to rural India and allow it to grow from there nurtured by the richness of the wisdom that belongs to India and the tolerance that has been the hallmark of the simple, courteous and peaceful village folks.

A CHALLENGE PRESIDENT PREMADASA CANNOT IGNORE

THE BALKAN TIME BOMB has begun to tick away bringing the question of nationalism once again to the forefront on the European arena. Despite the fact that Yugoslavia was created in 1945 as a union of six republics – Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, with each having its own legislature with powers over local affairs, it appears this political system has failed.

Unrest between national groups as in Yugoslavia has reached much intensity in a number of states in the world. In Sri Lanka the communal fires have been burning since 1956 and violence has become endemic *throughout the country.* Colombo, however remains a prisoner of the forces of Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism *and in this, there is no chance for the Tamils to be considered as citizens on par with the Sinhalese.*

The Tamils therefore are seeking a political system that will ensure their self-determination and right to live with dignity in their own homelands.

Just like Yugoslavia was a historically ill-conceived country in which six different nationalities live, the Tamils too found themselves part of a unitary system of government based illogically on the Westminster model when the Britishers bade goodbye to Sri Lanka in 1948. Prior to the Portuguese conquest of the maritime districts of Sri Lanka beginning from 1505, Sri Lanka was a land of many kingdoms. The Tamils too had their own kingdom in the north.

Speaking on the debate on the Sinhala Only Bill in 1956 in Parliament, Prof. C. Suntharalingam the M.P. for Vavuniya retorting to an interruption by Prime Minister Bandaranaike said: 'You are tragic! If this indictment can be answered by you, answer it. In a free country you will be impeached for what is going on in Ceylon. Remember that. Remember also that Ceylon history will say that if this country was divided into Sinhala Rata and Thamil Ilankai it was because of the misconduct of this government and of the prime minister of Ceylon in the year of Grace 1956'.

Earlier in the debate Prof. Suntharalingam made a pointed reference to Prime Minister Bandaranaike and said: '..... The language problem. who is the author of the problem? Mr. Solomon W.R.D. Bandaranaike. The blood and tears of his people will lie on his head for all time'.

Thirty six years later, the language problem has grown into a massive national calamity and thousands of lives have perished and the country's development put back by several decades. Even today Colombo has not found the will, courage, determination and inspiration to find a solution to the terribly cancerous Sinhala-Tamil problem.

The Tamils in sheer desperation have had to resort to armed struggle to defend themselves against the might of the police, the armed forces and all the criminal and other elements who have been trained and armed to fight the Tamil liberation struggle. *In this manner no solution can be found for this problem unless of course it is the determination of the successive Sinhala governments to wipe out the entire Tamil community from the island eventually.*

It appears that even though it was Mr. Bandaranaike who first inflamed the Sinhala masses on the anti-Tamil bandwagon, almost every Sinhala leader who held the reins of office of the highest executive had the desire to share the blood and tears of their people on their heads too.

Even today, is there no hope for all the people of Sri Lanka to live in harmony with each other and enrich each other's culture and wellbeing?

Unlike most other leaders of the past, President Premadasa Ranasinghe has a great opportunity to silence the guns and bring about sense and sensibility in the country. It demands a great deal of courage no doubt but for a man who has risen from the very grassroots of the society and come up the hard way, courage and determination must certainly be second nature.

If he takes the lead determined to find a peaceful solution he will soon see thousands behind him – thousands of Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims and the forces of darkness and violence will certainly disappear.

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PRABHAKARAN'S HOLD ON TAMIL NADU

By Taraki

Captain Pirabakaran is ready for release. It has been timed for the elections in June for the Tamilnadu legislative assembly and the Indian Parliament. Vijayakanth, an ardent fan of the Tiger leader and one of the top box office stars of Tamil filmdom's formula movies, has expressed hope that his role in 'Captain Pirabakaran' would bring him respect. Last year he named his son after his real life idol. Vijayakanth is an actor of the D.M.K. camp. A cherished goal in his life, he has said in a recent interview, is to meet Prabhakaran.

T. Rajendar is a big time producer, actor, director, distributor script writer etc. with several box office hits to his credit and a propensity for not too pleasant alliterative harangues. Rajendar also belonged to the D.M.K., once. He was sacked from the party in 1989 for publicly opposing and criticising Karunanidhi's leadership and revealing details of the corrupt practices of the D.M.K. leader's son, M.K. Stalin. Later Rajendar founded a party called Thayaha Marumalarchi Kazhaham – party for the renaissance of the homeland. Last year he was one of the main organizers of the meeting in Madras to mark Prabhakaran's birthday on November 26. Now he is said to have formed an umbrella organization called Tamil United Front. This organization will call upon Delhi to give assistance to the LTTE to set up Thamileelam and to recognize them as a legitimate liberation organization like the PLO.

Dr. M.S. Uthayamoorthy is a prolific writer and one of Tamilnadu's most influential opinion makers. He wrote an article in a weekly with a very large circulation in the state that the 'soft McCarthyism' which is being practised in Tamilnadu to suppress opinion in favour of the Tiger cause should be done away with. He is one who has regularly criticised the D.M.K. government. He says 'some prominent persons and papers are today reluctant to talk or write about the problem of the Sri Lankan Tamils. . .If there were talk of Eelam there are cries that it is a plan to separate Tamilnadu as an independent country. Once there was a senator called McCarthy in America. . . He used this (anti-communism) to brand even people whom he did not like as communists. Many reasonable and innocent government officials were removed from their jobs as a result. Those who criticised him were accused of being communists and he ruined their lives. . . we must not allow McCarthyism in Tamilnadu'.

The intelligent Tamil people must understand the truth of the Sri Lankan problem. Who are the perpetrators of this McCarthyism in Tamilnadu? They are those who wanted to remove the D.M.K. from power. I am sad that the Sri Lankan Tamil problem was made the scapegoat for dismissing the D.M.K. Didn't they have the Sarkarya commission and a thousand and one other reasons to do so?

Did the D.M.K. give an uncorrupt, clean government? Did they work with foresight?. . (goes on to describe corruption and abuse of power under D.M.K. rule). In other countries they would have taken up such reasons to remove a state government. If one cannot rule with responsibility we can look to another.

But it is deplorable that rather than follow such a course of action McCarthyist methods were used and the problem of the Sri Lankan Tamil fell victim. The Sri Lankan Tamils have been fighting for their basic rights against an authoritarian regime for many years. They have lost their homes, lost their kith and kin and shed blood in their struggle. We must respect their courage and determination.

Some politicians speak as though Prabhakaran should conduct himself as a blameless saint when it comes to waging a war. They forget that in war even Ram had to kill Vali by perfidy. . . Indira Gandhi who created Bangladesh as a separate nation helped the Sri Lankan Tamils to run training camps here because she understood the validity of the reasons for the Sri Lankan Tamil problem. This is why Rajiv Gandhi took the step to send in the airforce to drop food although it was a violation of a neighbouring country's sovereignty.

Can we continue to ignore everything that the Indian government has done? The Sri Lankans should be enabled to get their legitimate rights. If those are not granted, assistannce should be given for setting up Eelam. Some would say that if Eelam is created then Tamilnadu would also separate, it will be a threat to India.

This is an insidious cry that seeks to cover the truth. Dr. N.S. Uthayamoorthy is a pan-Indian nationalist who does not share the views of the Dravidian movement.

'Gnani' is leading intellectual of Tamilnadu avant garde. He belonged to the elite circle of Tamil literary magazines which discuss matters ranging from post-structuralism to forgotten forms of folk theatre apart from producing some remarkable short story writers, novelists and poets. The 'Ananda Vikatan' Tamilnadu's oldest and most popular magazine invited him to comment on the political trends in Tamilnadu in the 80s for its first week's issue for 1991. What he wrote astonished many and was promptly dismissed by some more, I suspect out of fear of the consequences of acknowledging at least some aspects of Gnani's views.

The basic trends in the politics of Tamilnadu in the eighties, he argued, were set in motion by the direct and indirect influence of two people: M.G.R. and Prabhakaran. The duplicity of Delhi's attitudes towards the Sri Lankan problem had disillusioned many youth in the state and coupled with the opportunism of Tamilnadu's politicians is leading them away from the traditional interests of the established political parties, he avers. In conclusion he wrote that many leading politicians of Tamilnadu today may fade away towards the end of this century as a result of the impact Prabhakaran and M.G.R. made on Tamilian politics.

The opinions and convictions of Vijayakanth, T. Rajendar, Dr. M.S. Uthayamoothy and 'Gnani' are the dividends of the LTTE's long term and useful ideological investment in Tamilnadu; more effective and stable than the patronage of an M.G.R. or a Rajiv.

These dividends will gradually place Prabhakaran at the critical interstice where a potential tension may develop between the covert desire in the west to see fissures to the Tamil south of the Indian Union and Delhi's determination, however muddle headed or counter productive in its manifestations, to hold it together. And then Colombo will lose its significance in the LTTE's scheme of things. Prabhakaran's stature, potential and real, in Tamilnadu will present Delhi with two options: Terminate him or win him over to their side. When they calculate the ideological and material cost of the former they will be impelled sooner or later to try the latter.

Courtesy of *Sunday Island.*

Continued from page 6

Diocesan Council of the Laity said: 'The members of this Council, representing the entire Catholic population of the three administrative districts of Jaffna, Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu are shocked to hear that His Lordship, The Bishop of Mannar, Rt. Rev. Dr. Thomas Savundaranayagam, was subjected to filthy abuse and repeated assaults by military personnel at the check point near Sarvodya at Vavuniya in the afternoon of Saturday, 16 March. . . We hereby register our strong protest at this heinous act and demand that an impartial inquiry be made and remedial measures adopted'.

THE UGLY FACE OF 'COUNTER-TERRORISM'

by Shamindra Ferdinando

Lecturer C.H. Ratnayake was seized by men in Army-type uniforms along with his Toyota Corolla car at Hemmawathagama, a small village about nine miles away from the Mawanella police station in the Kegalle administrative district on December 30, 1989.

He was stopped by men in Army-type uniforms armed with sophisticated automatics at an Army check point just yards away from the Hemmawathagama Army detachment earlier established by the co-ordinating office of the Kegalle district to assist the regular police to counter the threat posed by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP).

Then the men got into the Toyota Corolla. And that was the last time C.H. Ratnayake, a brother-in-law of UNP Provincial Councillor Danapala Epitawatte, was seen alive.

He met his tragic death at a place called Uda-Sinhapitiya in the Gampola police area, on the same day.

The Hemmawathagama abduction and the death at Uda-Sinhapitiya remained a mystery until a young police officer carried out an operation in mid-February 1990 and arrested several persons along with at least fifteen stolen vehicles including the Toyota Corolla belonging to C.H. Ratnayake.

Information

The Toyota Corolla was traced to UNP Provincial Councillor Danapala Epitawatte and lecturer Ratnayake who disappeared in late December 1989. When the policemen from the Giriulla police station who conducted the Colombo operation which resulted in the recovery of many stolen vehicles in mid-February started probing the story behind the stolen Toyota Corolla car, interesting information came out. A rich Muslim from Mawanella claimed that he had bought the Toyota Corolla from some Army person.

And on March 6, 1990 police moved into action and arrested five Army personnel for their alleged involvement in the Hemmawathagama abduction and the death of lecturer Ratnayake at Uda-Sinhapitiya.

Later investigations revealed that at least two of the arrested men were involved in an alleged rape case in the Aranayake police area.

Both incidents did not surprise or shock the people at that time as killers were on the rampage everywhere. Smouldering and bullet riddled bodies did not take the nation by surprise after weeks of bloody violence triggered off by JVP inspired activities.

Activities

With an increase in criminal activities by security forces deserters and others still in the service it is important that the people take a closer look at the latest wave of crime.

This month alone the police had arrested at least ten policemen and soldiers for their alleged involvement in armed robbery, assault, rape and extortion among other things.

Their involvement in organised crime has registered a dramatic increase in the recent past, authorities say.

Since the arrest of Army deserter Anura Luxman in mid-July 1987 somewhere at Veyangoda the authorities have detained nearly 200 security forces and police personnel for their alleged involvement in extortion, rape, armed assault, armed hold ups, murder, abductions, forgery, and other types of violence. Anura Luxman was seized by policemen along with two foreign made 36 millimetre hand grenades and some fuse wire.

With more reports of the alleged involvement of security forces personnel in a wave of incidents, the authorities have expressed concern over a large number of men who had deserted the services in some instances with sophisticated arms.

Investigations have clearly indicated that some of these men may have been moved into the underworld with a view to earning a fast buck. The indications were that persons who once served the country's security forces and police were prime suspects in many criminal activities apart from links to JVP inspired insurgency which was crushed by the security forces and police after months of bloodshed.

The most recent case was the robbing of a jewellery shop at the Janadhipathi Mawatha by an Army Captain from Mullaithivu and a soldier attached to an elite front line battalion. The robbery was busted by OIC (Traffic) Maligawatte Sarath Adikari when he arrested the soldier just minutes after the robbery.

Later the captain was also arrested by the military police. Apart from the rising number of robberies, hold ups and other such activities, the growing professionalism and expertise shown by these men have baffled the authorities.

According to sources the men started showing an interest in getting involved in crime at the beginning of 1988. The counter-insurgency operations against the JVP had allowed certain members of the services to get involved in criminal activities. This is one such incident reported from the Colombo district.

In October 1989, police arrested two Sub-Inspectors and a sergeant attached to a police station in the Nugegoda division for their alleged involvement in a rape case. They were interdicted following an internal investigation by the police department. The investigation revealed the way the three law enforcement officers took a young girl from a house at Kahawaththuduwa. The investigation also disclosed that the officers had taken the girl from the Kahawaththuduwa house telling the terrified inmates of the house that they wanted to question her in connection with alleged anti-Government activities and allegedly raped her.

In the same month, four junior Army officers were interdicted over their alleged involvement in the raping of a factory girl from Ratmalana.

And others were arrested by the authorities when they abducted people for private reasons. The Gampaha incident was an example. In February '90 three policemen attached to a Colombo police station were arrested after they abducted a man from Gampaha. Their involvement in the abduction came to light when the victim's wife informed the police about her husband's plight.

There were other instances where soldiers have been arrested for armed hold ups. In late February 1990, people were surprised when police arrested six soldiers when they attempted to extort money from shop owners in Maskeliya town.

By March 1990, there were about 100 soldiers, security forces and police personnel in custody for their alleged involvement in criminal activities. Then there was the Wavulkele massacre also in the month of February 1990.

And there were interesting incidents also involving security forces and police personnel in the recent past. One such incident was the attempted abduction of the wife of a police constable by four sailors in Colombo in late March 1990. A police patrol swooped on the sailors when they tried to abduct the police constable's wife while the policeman's family was at the Galle Face Green.

Investigations

There have been many instances where the security forces personnel had gone on the rampage.

Asked for comments official sources

Continued on page 23

QUIZ CROSSWORDS – No. 4. Set by: Richards

Closing date for completed grid and coupon to be received is 30 June 1991.

Answers and the name of the winner – first all correct entry pulled out of a bag – will be announced in the July 1991 issue.

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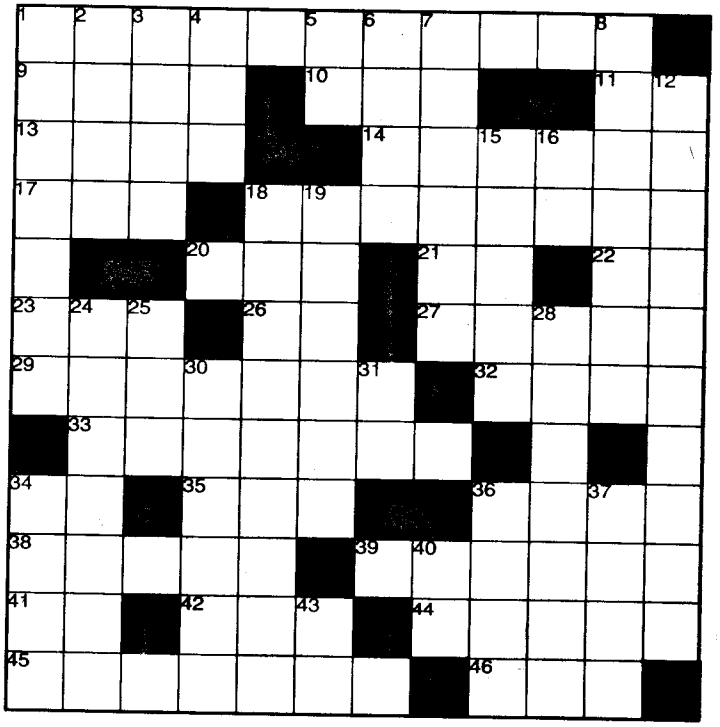

Across.

1. Triple facet and nature's endowment dominate this historic seat of Hindu culture in eastern Sri Lanka (11)
9. Disturb with a piercing tone (4)
10. 'A note to follow soh . . . . ' (3)
11. Small mount (2)
13. South American language of one of the finest civilizations laid bare by the Spanish conquest (4)
14. A 'lit up' person could be high or worse for it (6)
17. 'A deer, a female deer . . . . .' (3)
18. The Hindu triad of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva (8)
20. Title of honour and sanctity politically cheapened in Sri Lanka by using on car number plates (3)
21. Senior briefly (2)
22. Indian Airlines briefly (2)
23. Unspecified most extreme of a long series (3)
26. It is said that what goes there must return! (2)
27. Israelites' first high priest (5)
29. Victory (7)
32. — -Po, Chinese port town on the River Yung and the site of first European settlement in China (4)
33. Scrutinize officially (7)
34. Printer's measure (2)
35. One-fortieth of a maund in India (3)
36. Young one of a horse (4)
38. Bulby flower in disarray (5)
39. Subramanya Bharatiar referred to it as the most musical language of the Dravidian people (6)
41. One-hundredth of a kip in Laos (2)
42. Colour synonymous with May Day (3)
44. House of wives and concubines in an Arabian household (5)
45. Politically militant northern fishing village in Sri Lanka (7)
46. British Standards Specification (3)

Down:

1. A three-pronged symbol of Hindu veneration from the earliest of times known later in Pagan Greek and Roman mythology (7)
2. US city known for its liberal laws for weddings, divorces and gambling (4)
3. Unit of length could also be a small island (4)
4. Dan in disarray (3)
5. A landmark step in secondary education, abb. (2)
6. Landlocked West African republic with settlements in the river valleys of Senegal and Niger (4)
7. Mahatma Gandhi's political weapon of great power in which Tamil leader S.J.V. Chelvanayagam had great confidence and hopes for the liberation struggle (6)
8. Strong feeling of joy or sorrow (7)
12. Appropriately named constellation in the northern skies close to Perseus and Aries (10)
15. Sacred scriptures of Islam (5)
16. Ancient city of Sumer (2)
18. Bragged about oneself (9)
19. Jack was the notorious one and there were lesser ones all ruthless and murderous (6)
24. The Christian triad of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit (7)
25. Hebrew unit of capacity (3)
28. Cruel and hard circumstances (7)
30. Russian river forms part of the Chinese border and empties in the Amur (6)
31. House of Commons, briefly (2)
34. Ancient kingdom established before 4000 BC on the River Tigris (4)
36. Unwanted fat on unsightly bodies (4)
37. Becomes old (4)
40. Exclamation that expresses a questioning surprise (2)
43. Doctor of Divinity (2)

Quiz Crosswords – 2. Solutions and Winner.

Across: 1. Vadamaradchy. 10. Imp. 11. AG. 12. Hoe. 13. Devi. 14. Amorist. 16. Iron Age. 18. USS. 20. Toyota. 23. Krishna. 25. Ope. 26. Nallur. 30. Donor. 32. Ala. 33. NT. 34. DA. 35. SA. 37. Khufu. 39. Atom. 41. Goa. 42. Rug. 43. IHS. 44. On. 45. Libra. 46. Sankili. 47. Ill.

Down: 1. Vaddukoddai. 2. Division. 3. Amir. 4. MP. 5. Ramayana. 6. Agogo. 7. Chi. 8. Host. 9. Yet. 14. Anon. 15. Ret. 17. Others. 19. Sr. 21. Awl. 22. Portugal. 24. SPO. 27. Alkali. 28. Lah. 29. Unfurl. 31. Oaths. 36. Agni. 38. Urbi. 40. Osa. 44. OK.

Winner: Mr. Yogesh. C. Ratnasabapathy, 67 Hawarden Hill, Dollis Hill Lane, London NW2 7BR.

NEWS IN BRIEF

● **MAJOR GENERAL** Waidyaratne, the army's number two, has been appointed by President Premadasa to take overall charge in a concerted drive against the LTTE in the eastern province. The General was the head of the 'Operations Combine' which crushed the JVP last year. The move is said to be directed at bringing about 'stability and restoring normalcy to the area and getting the civil administration functioning'. The move is also alleged to be for the purpose of co-ordinating the protection of Sinhalese settlements in the east.

● **PRESIDENT** Premadasa has disclosed that the World Bank has pumped in a staggering Rs. 4,000 million to the 'Janasaviya' programme which encompassed rural infrastructure development and provided interest free loans to farmers and small industrialists and vocational training to youths.

● **AS MORE THAN** 2,500 troops involved themselves in military operations in an effort to establish full control of the north-western sea coast in the Mannar district and ensure an effective block of LTTE access to supplies by sea from south India, Army Commander Lieut. General Hamilton Wanasinghe claimed, 'Holidays or no holidays, the security forces will carry on with their tasks'. He expressed surprise at the ease with which the troops occupied the villages of Manthai, Pappamudai, Vidithalaitivu and Adampan. Other areas over which the security forces are claiming control include Vankalai, Nanathan, Murunkan, Anandakulam and Parappankadathan.

● **IF THE LTTE's** real intention is not to continue the war then either Prabhakaran or whoever is the current leader should come forward to negotiate personally, and it would be a time-saver especially with the president heading the government's negotiating team, the Eelam Peoples Democratic Party leader Douglas Devananda said in a recent statement. He described the excuses given by the LTTE for avoiding negotiations as flimsy and an attempt to cheat the people. 'The LTTE is using the lives of people as pawns, thinking of its own prestige above human life. It is for this reason that our party is openly stating the truth even though it is bitter. A meaningful peace cannot be achieved without the LTTE giving up its greed for monopoly of power'.

● **GARMENTS** retained its number one position in the export sector with exports grossing Rs.25.2 billion for the year 1990 as against Rs.17.6 billion for the previous year, according to the Central Bank. However, only around 30 per cent of the value of garment exports that represents the value added component is actual earning for the country as seventy per cent of the gross earnings are inputs which are imported. Tea, the major agricultural product, came second with export earnings for 1990 amounting to Rs.19.8 billion compared to Rs.13.7 billion for 1989. Inward remittances by Lankans working abroad recorded Rs.13.1 billion up to the third quarter of 1990 compared to Rs.12.2 billion for the whole of 1989.

Continued from page 12

Provincial Government had been in office for a period of three years.

Any issue like the question of linkage of the former Northern and Eastern provinces, may be raised after the Provincial Government had been in office for a period of three years. Such questions could be settled by negotiations between the Centre and the North-East Provincial Government. Time will play a role in viewing the problem in its correct perspective.

Long years of bitter conflict have created mutual suspicion and distrust and it would take courage and statesmanship on all sides to resolve this problem. A compromise solution is the answer and both sides have to give in from their stated positions for the greater good of the people they claim to represent. We appeal to the Government of Sri Lanka to adopt these proposals, which we feel would relieve the sufferings of the people and restore peace. We appeal to the Government of India to use their good offices to assist in this process. We appeal to the L.T.T.E. to accept these proposals and to enter the mainstream of national life through democratic means.

We have made these proposals in the firm conviction that their implementation would not only restore peace, human rights and democratic institutions, but also would set in motion a process which would create mutual trust and understanding between the two peoples. The Sinhalese and the Tamils have lived in Sri Lanka for over two thousand years. There are many aspects in common between the two nationalities, particularly in religion and culture. Let us strengthen these links and create a new society, where every citizen of Sri Lanka could live with honour and equality, free from fear or want. Let us live and let live in our motherland. Such a development will also strengthen regional peace and stability so essential for our political, economic and social progress.

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Gayatri's Rangapravesam

India's cultural heritage is enshrined in its ancient finearts and its vital fire was powerfully brought to life by Kum. Gayatri, daughter of Sri. and Smt. Manikkavasagan of Kenton, Harrow, in her Bharata Natya Arangetram, at Logan Hall, London the 27th April, 1991 in the presence of a packed and appreciative audience.

Rangapravesam or Arangetram is an all important event in a dancer's career, where she gives a complete dance programme for the very first time. Gayatri managed this extremely well, which was indeed an acid test of her commitment, learning, stamina, guidance and goals bestowed on her. She displayed, to near perfection, not only technical skills but charm and poise – which was the result of the rigorous training she has had under her very able and talented guru Smt. Uma Chandratheva, herself a product of Kalakshetra, where she was trained by its founder – the late Smt. Rukmini Devi and other well known teachers of the Institute.

Neat lines and grace are the hallmarks of the Kalakshetra style and Gayatri was able to retain and exhibit these in full measure. Although this style is known to be rather austere, a silky sheen of grace covered the steel frame of discipline.

Gayatri began her debut in the traditional form, following the normal repertoire. Her rendering of the Varnam 'Mohamana' in Raga Bhairavi was properly finessed to perfection. The first half of the programme was further enlightened by the percussion support offered by Shri Karaikudi Krishnamurthy, a virtuoso of the Miruthangam, inspite of his own discomforts with a plaster cast leg.

Gayatri's performance and the interpretation of the slow moving Keertanam 'Innamum Oru Tharam' – depicting the cosmic dance of Lord Nataraja was indeed praiseworthy. The Slokam and Padam – 'Narayana' by Saint Purandaradasar brought out Gayatri's skills in devotional Abhinaya.

Nattuvanars can slow down or speed up a dancer's rhythm and make or break a dancer, hence the performer is not an entirely free agent. But when the Nattuvanar and the dancer click well together in harmony and create a rapport, the results are an amazing revelation. What we saw of Gayatri's dance and Uma's Nattuvangam was indeed a pleasant outcome of a perfect teamwork – a feast for the eyes and a treat for the ears. Gayatri has obviously taken the trouble to study and understand the literal meanings as well as the deeper spiritual significance of the compositions she was performing. Her knowledge of the language and the carnatic music, to a great extent contributed to the well executed Abhinayas. Her deep devotion or Bhakthi also laid the foundation to perfect this art form and this was evident when she dedicated her concluding item of Namaskaram to Shri. Sathya Sai Baba – a refreshing novelty indeed.

Dr. John Marr of SOAS and of Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, the learned Chief Guest of the evening offered indepth critical applause to many of the traditional items performed by Gayatri and appreciated her Abhinaya.

The constant encouragement, support, cultural and traditional education given by her parents Sri. Manikkavasagan and Smt. Savitri Manikkavasagan and the guru Smt. Uma Chandratheva's unstinted efforts for perfection has undoubtedly contributed greatly to heighten the impact of Gayatri's Rangapravesam.

The accompanying musicians were lead by Smt. Sivasakthy Sivanesan with the vocal support, the mellifluence veena of Smt. Renuka Shriananda, the haunting flute of Sri. Selvanayagam Thayaparan and the supple hands of Sri. Balasri on the miruthangam.

The precision footwork and maturity in Abhinaya at this early stage in her dancing career will indeed ensure a bright future and no doubt earn a place among the front-liners in the field of dancing for Gayatri.

Manju.

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Justice In Lanka

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In many kinds!
Justice in Lanka
Here some kind!!

Construction of houses
In South and West!
Destruction of houses
In North and East!!

Opening of Model villages
In South and West!
Opening of refugee camps
In North and East!!

Rise of new towns
In South and West!
Grave for wisdom
In North and East!!

Milk and honey
In South and West!
Blood and tears
In North and East!!

Rights for people
In South and West!
Bombs from I M F
For North and East!!

Government by ballots
In South and West!
Government by bullets
In North and East!!

People in Bungalows
In South and West!
People in Bunkers
In North and East!!

People in cheers
In South and West!
People in fears
In North and East!!

Fighting for rice
In South and West!
Fighting for rights
In North and East!!

Preach of 'Pirith'
In South and West!
Breach of peace
In North and East!!

List is long
Limit my duty!
List them along
It's your duty.

M. Kirupananthan

A Commitment to Multi-Culturalism

– Jehan Perera –

Today Australia is perhaps the most tolerant and hospitable country in the world. It is a home to people from 140 countries of the world. A Sri Lankan can walk its streets and feel at home, safe and free. Also it is nice and warm unlike most other countries Sri Lankans have emigrated to. But Australia was also a country born in genocide, with the near extermination of an entire race of people. The Aboriginals, the native people who inhabited this country were even hunted, and where they had no escape as on the island of Tasmania they were all killed.

The first white people came to these shores 200 years ago as convicts. The American civil war forced British authorities to seek somewhere else to send their convicts who were overcrowding their jails. It was decided to send them to Australia. That was a time of immense injustice in Britain with child labour, slave trade, poverty and social inequalities. People were sent to penal colonies even for stealing a loaf of bread to feed their family. Such people came to Australia. However their encounter with the Aboriginals was a disaster. The Aboriginals were a people who had no contact with any other civilisation and have lived in Australia for 60,000 years. They did no farming and lived off the land.

When Captain James Cook landed in "Terra Australis" near Sydney and planted the Union Jack, he took possession of this country nearly three times the size of India. He also declared it "terra nullis", which meant no human beings lived on the land. An entire race of people therefore was declared nonexistent! This was at the root of white perceptions of the black people who inhabited Australia. The meeting of the two peoples was a disaster to the blacks. They operated within two entirely different value systems, one which recognised private ownership and the other which saw all living things as belonging to anyone who got it first. So the Aboriginals would jump across a white man's fence and take his sheep. But this was robbery to the white man. And because this was a cruel period in history, he would punish the black man by killing him and sometimes his entire family. That the Aboriginal population did survive is evidence of their remarkable resilience. However, in 200 years much has changed and is still changing.

Prime Minister Hawke's assertion that in Australia there should be no dominant culture has taken the commitment to multi–culturalism to its limit. Australian critics of the philosophy of multi–culturalism have angrily asked whether Australia is going to surrender its Western values and traditions. Of course, this conservative reaction must be seen in the context of Australia's past, not only the genocide of the Aboriginal people, but also of the 'White Australia' policy. Until 1967 the Aboriginal people were not given the vote. Until the early 1970s Australia accepted only people with European blood as immigrants.

A policy of multi–culturalism is about ensuring that one ethnic group is not dominant. It is about emphasising equality and fraternity among different cultural traditions. In Sri Lanka, in significant areas of our life, we too practice multi–culturalism For instance, in family affairs, the law does not impose Kandyan traditions upon low–Sinhalese, or Sinhalese and Tamil value systems upon the Muslim. In other areas of our life, however, we are less committed to multi–culturalism. For instance, in public ceremonies, Buddhist rituals are given pride of place, if not the only place. Until very recently the law gave a superior place to the Sinhala language.

There is another more important dimension to multi–culturalism that Australia is committed to. That is to guarantee that nobody is excluded from participating in the political, economic and cultural life of the country. Over the past decade tremendous changes have taken place in Australia with this end in view. Twenty–three different languages ranging from Khmer to Greek have become subjects at the O–Level examination. Hundreds of language interpreters have been recruited to facilitate communication between the government and non–English speaking immigrants. There are several radio stations and even television stations that are financially supported by the government to run ethnic programmes, including Sinhala and Tamil ones. These are managed entirely by non–governmental leaders of the ethnic communities.

Sri Lanka cuts a sorry figure in this respect when compared to Australia. In part it is because we are poor. So far Sri Lankan governments have preferred not to give priority to training and recruiting translators or even buying Tamil typewriters. But even where Sri Lankan governments have been willing to spend money on ethnic programmes, such as on radio and television, they have done so while maintaining total government control and without respecting the autonomy of the ethnic communities to run their own programmes. Australia, on the other hand, has given its ethnic communities a free hand and a sense of being free to make Australia the home they want.

Expatriate Lankans

Today in Australia there are more than 60,000 people of Sri Lankan origin who left a Sri Lanka they did not think would provide them with a secure home. They were in many ways the best, the most adventurous, the most capable and the most cultured of our people. So Australia has been the beneficiary. The 3–odd million dollars that the Australian government doles out to us in Sri Lanka cannot even begin to compensate those of us left behind for what we have lost. We should be happy about the new life that these Sri Lankans and their children have built in Australia. But we should be sad that they left because they feared for their futures in Sri Lanka. Discrimination and heavy–handedness in government policy that began with the disenfranchisement of the estate Tamils in 1948 and the Sinhala Only Act of 1956 have chiefly been responsible. Even before our Tamils left we lost our Burghers who in the early 1960s saw the ominous portents and signs of what was to come. In the downward spiral we have lost some of our best Sinhalese as well.

Unfortunately many of these expatriate Sri Lankans have taken to their new home the scars from their old home. There is an almost total division between the Sinhalese and Tamil migrants which mirrors the division that existed in Sri Lanka in the years 1983–87. Today of course we who live in Sri Lanka know that there is no such confrontation any more between the Sinhalese and Tamil peoples. Rather there is a war which, the government itself has said, is between the government and the LTTE. Since the war is not between the Sinhalese and Tamil peoples, much of the old friendships that existed have been regained, expecially following the IPKF and JVP wars and the accession of Mr Premadasa to the Presidency. In his endeavour to represent the common people the President also represents their basic non–racism.

But despite their estrangement from one another, the Sinhalese and Tamil expatriate communities in Australia share two features which provide a basis for reconciliation. The first is that both communities are at a loss to know what the next step forward is with regard to the separatist conflict. Both have seen that the military struggle will bring no victor. All their financial and propaganda contributions have

Continued on page 22

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been in vain. The argument put forward by some Tamils that having sacrificed ten years to war, the Tamil people might as well fight on sounds increasingly hollow, as such a future only points to another ten years of war and destruction. But the leaders of both communities hesitate to take the first steps towards each other because they do not trust each other and have bitter memories of past propaganda wars in which half truths were the main weapon. They will need to overcome this barrier, which is mostly of a personal and psychological nature.

The second feature that provides a basis for reconciliation is that both communities in Australia are drawn to their island home in Sri Lanka (or Ceylon as some Tamils still like to call it). For instance, in their public stances many Tamils may be hardline, pro–Eelam and anti–Sri Lanka. But deep in their hearts there is indeed a yearning to belong to the only country they have ever belonged to, Sri Lanka.

Australian Uniqueness

Perhaps in order to move towards reconciliation the Sinhalese and Tamils in Australia, and those of us in Sri Lanka too, need to better appreciate a distinctive Australian character trait – that of humility and lack of arrogance. This uniquely Australian quality arises out of three different reasons. The first is the absence in Australia of an ancient history and culture. Unlike the Sinhalese and Tamils who can take pride in 2500 years of history and culture, the Australians can go back only 200 years. Even this short period is a mish–mash of English, Irish, Italian, Greek, Chinese and other cultural traditions. So the Australians are hardly in a position to look down their noses (like the French or ourselves) at people of different cultures as being of an inferior stock. Second, with a population of only 17 million, Australia is nowhere near being a great power. So the arrogance and sense of destiny that, say the Americans (or Japanese) have, the Australians do not, and cannot, have.

To make matters worse for the Australians, they are reeling economically from their close neighbour, Japan and the four tigers of Southeast Asia. While the Australians remain at the topmost rung of the world's standard of living, the newspapers and every day chit chat concern the economic downturn and the prospect of the Japanese buying up Australia.

There is growing recognition that East Asian culture, and the Confucian philosophy of emphasising the group over the individual, duties over rights and long term over short term planning, leads to superior economic results. There is also the increasing awareness that the migration from Asia can provide the sophisticated skills needed to develop Australia's links with that part of the world which is setting the pace of economic development and advanced standards. In a widely read book titled the 'Confucian Renaissance', two senior Australian scholars have argued that, 'Australia's best protection is the speed it develops a multi–cultural nature overlaid with a strong Asian orientation'.

For the foreseeable future Australia will undoubtedly remain a 'promised land', a land flowing with milk and honey to the tens of millions of Asia's most educated and cultured people who find their own countries sadly lacking in the opportunities, the openness and tolerance that people of education and culture desire.

ARMS BUILD UP BY MILITARY

The Army has taken delivery of a new regiment of medium range 130mm artillery which it has already used in combat and will shortly receive tracked infantry combat vehicles significantly enhancing its firepower and tactical mobility in the campaign to demolish the Tigers, Army Commander Lt. General Hamilton Wanasinghe said.

He said in an interview on Friday that the Army's 1st Special Forces Regiment (formerly the RDF) has been deployed in the eastern theatre of operations, where Chief of Staff, Major General Cecil Waidyaratne was placed in overall command, and given the task of clearing Tiger jungle bases there by the end of May in the government's efforts to restore normalcy in the multi-ethnic region.

Giving an assessment of the progress in the Eelam war the Army Commander said naval action in the surveillance zone and the crackdown on the Tigers in Tamil Nadu had reduced LTTE arms supplies although an odd boat or two still gets through, and that the east should be under control by the end of June while the north would take a little longer.

The new 130mm guns, which have a range of 27 kilometres, have been in use on a small scale from last month and they have been very effective. This is the first time the army is using such large calibre guns. The guns have been issued in small numbers and were used in the Mannar operations as well as in last week's action in Karaitivu and Kayts where they were fired from Palaly, the Commander said.

He said the entire regiment would become fully operational once all the equipment arrived and gunners finished their training. The Army now has field and light artillery. The medium range guns would be useful in instances where the employment of air power in support of the ground troops is hampered by bad weather, he added.

The new guns will be initially placed in batteries under the Army's Artillery Brigade and would be formed into a separate regiment later, he said. In the recent action at Parappakadanthan in Mannar the Army had used its 25 pounders and 106mm recoilless rifle in the direct fire role to destroy Tiger bunkers, he explained.

The Commander said the Army's tactical mobility will be significantly enhanced with the arrival of the T85 tracked Infantry Fighting Vehicles (IFVs). Right now the Army's vehicles were restricted to the roads while most of the troop movements were on foot because the roads were mined and had to be cleared inch by inch.

If tracked vehicles had been there, camps like Kokavil would not have fallen since re-inforcements could have been sent cross country, avoiding the roads which were mined, he explained.

He said the Army was fighting under resource constraints and has had to cut back on recruitment.

General Wanasinghe said the majority of the Army's troops are now deployed in the northern areas and that despite the constant demand for more troops, commanders were now able to pull out and commit more troops for operations instead of employing them mainly in a holding role.

He said clearing the north was going to be a problem because of the need to take the many Tiger bases and the rebels' ability to move swiftly from place to place, avoiding advancing troops.

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COLOMBO TURNS ITS BACK ON BARBARITY OF TAMIL WAR

Tim McGirk in the Sri Lankan capital saw a forgetfulness that allows people to live through a continuing nightmare.

For the thousands of European tourists arriving every week in Sri Lanka who face nothing more dangerous than a sunburn or a lurching elephant ride through the coconut groves down to the beach, this island is not far from paradise.

Watching children playing cricket on Colombo's old colonial esplanade or driving through the boisterous resort towns of Mount Lavinia and Hikkaduwa further south, there are no visible signs that Sri Lanka has been at war with itself for 20 years.

Many Sri Lankans, through self-preservation and utter exhaustion, have managed to wall off those parts of their psyche that contain their memories of an unending national nightmare.

Human rights activists say that in the past two decades more than 40,000 Sri Lankans have gone missing during the government's fierce crackdown against left-wing terrorists in the south.

In the north, another 20,000 have died since 1983 in a civil war between ethnic Tamil separatists and the Sinhalese majority. The conflict has also caused an exodus of more than 100,000 refugees, mainly Tamils, who fled to Britain, Canada and India.

The Island, a daily newspaper, recently lamented: 'We have entire generations for whom aerial bombings, urban bombings, death squad massacres of entire villages, political assassinations and other forms of violence are part of everyday life'.

What strikes some lawyers and doctors as alarming is how Sri Lankans contort themselves to hide the pain of this barbarity. One lawyer remarked: 'Emotionally, this society has switched off. It's as if the war (against the Tamil Tiger guerrillas) is taking place in a different hemisphere, instead of 120 miles away.

A medical expert recounted how, at a playgroup held recently in one of Colombo's lush gardens, several dolls were handed out to children whose fathers had been killed during the police's brutal repression of revolutionaries in 1989. The children took one of the dolls to the far end of the tropical garden and burnt it with matches.

The children were simply acting out a grisly scene they had frequently witnessed in their villages. 'The government death squads – and the terrorists, too – would drop off the bodies of their victims on street corners and set fire to them with tyres. The families of the victims weren't allowed to take the bodies away. They had to mask their pain while they watched the flames die down and the dogs come and pull away charred pieces of the body', said the medical expert.

Sri Lankans react to this horror with morbid humour. 'Dead Bodies Keep Falling On My Head' was one memorable newspaper headline. Young men sport T-shirts with legends such as 'Death By A Bullet'.

Sri Lankans have been denied any chance to cry out against the barbarity. There is a reason for this: the revolutionary terrorists were crushed after 1989, but the government's security apparatus is still at large. No senior army officers were ever punished, even though thousands of Sri Lankans disappeared. Instead, the President, Ranasinghe Premadasa, has dispatched many of the harshest offenders to the north and eastern parts of the island to subdue the Tamil population there.

In Colombo and the booming south, it is easy for Sri Lankans to ignore the conflict. This is a flickering, low-intensity war. A precision aerial attack in Sri Lanka means heaving a few bombs out of the open bay of a prop aeroplane. Neither side, during the past three months, has managed to score any decisive victory. The war is waged in jungle areas, where the guerrillas will overrun an army outpost and then vanish.

Few Sri Lankans have a clear notion of who is winning the war. The closer to the combat zone, the more confusing it all seems. The army maintains its roadblocks and so do the Tamil Tigers. Often, these checkpoints are no more than 150 yards from each other, and soldiers and guerrillas will agree on a timetable so they can fill their canteens from the same well. Relations are hardly chummy; often soldiers seize supplies of anaesthetics heading for Tamil hospitals in Jaffna so that wounded guerrillas are made to suffer on the operating tables.

There is a positive side to the collective forgetfulness that enables Sri Lankans to live with the Tamil war. When the late Defence Minister, Ranjan Wijeratne, and 30 others were killed on 2 March in a bomb blast, there was no mob vengeance against the many Tamils living in the capital, as happened in the past. But, as one lawyer cautioned, 'this emotional compartmentalisation means that people are caring less about human rights violations and finding political solutions to end the stalemate of this war'.

Not all Sri Lankans can ignore the war. At one luxury beach hotel near the trouble zone, guerrillas have shot away the road sign. Only an army patrol keeps the Tigers from destroying the hotel. Empty of tourists, the wooded grounds are now populated by cavorting monkeys and pairs of wild peacocks wandering in from the beach.

Service is slow; the assistant manager was hauled off for interrogation by the army a fortnight ago and has not been seen since. His daughter, instead of burning dolls, had encircled the trunk of an ancient tree with blossoms, leaves and coconuts. It was a child's offering for the safe return of her missing father.

Continued from page 18

say that there is a need to take counter action, immediately.

In the recent past both the people and the establishment have been surprised at the way deserters have carried out operations.

Establishment

The Criminal Investigations Department and the Counter Subversive Division (CSD) had claimed that many politically motivated killings had been carried out by security forces deserters in the past few years. When the CID in January 1988 asked the people to help track down six killers responsible for a wave of politically motivated killings – including the murders of UNP Chairman Harsha Abeywardene and CSD Chief Terrence Perera the CID mentions about at least three service deserters.

The CID said that these deserters were a part of a JVP hit team responsible for killings.

Latterly investigations indicated that other deserters had helped the JVP to train cadres and had led JVP raiding parties to storm security forces detachments and police stations.

Despite security surveillance by various security arms of the Government undesirable elements had joined the security forces and police especially after black July 1983.

The involvement of the deserters in alleged JVP activity came to light when authorities arrested an Army captain identified as Nissanka for helping prominent JVP'er Somawansa Amarasinghe to escape to India late last year.

The army officer was believed to have been responsible for Amarasinghe's escape to India in a boat.

Courtesy of *Sunday Island.*

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Jaffna Hindu aunt *seeks attractive, qualified bride for an accountant nephew, 38, with M.B.A. employed in USA. Reply with horoscope, photograph. M 483 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu brother *seeks partner for fair, economics honours graduate sister, 32, Mars in eighth house. Send details, horoscope. M 484 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu *seeks partner for fair attractive sister, 22, following accountancy course. Details, horoscope to M 485 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu brother *seeks bride for brother, 30, completed HND, presently working in Europe, willing to emigrate. Horoscope, details to M 486 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Tamil parents *seek Hindu doctor bride for highly qualified doctor son, 29, presently working in U.K. M 487 c/o Tamil Times.*

Bridegroom wanted *for accomplished Iyengar girl, 29, very fair, attractive, living in London from Tamil speaking brahmin groom with status. Contact with horoscope. M 488 c/o Tamil Times.*

FORTHCOMING WEDDING

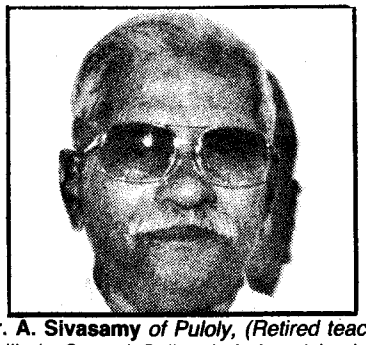
The marriage of **Dr. Indrakrishnan** *(St. Louis University Hospital, Missouri, U.S.A.) son of the late Mr. & Mrs. R. Bhuvanendram and* **Gayathri** *(Ministry of Consumer & Commercial Relations, Toronto, Canada) daughter of the late Mr. S.N. Shanmuganathan and Mrs. S. Shanmuganathan will take place on 18th May 1991 at the Holiday Inn, Scarborough, Ontario, Canada – 6060, Marshall Road, Centerville, Ohio 45459, USA. Tel: 513-434-3306.*

Consult an Expert on

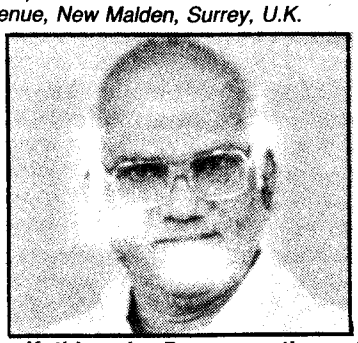
Numerology, Astrology & Palmistry and know your future.
Comparison of Horoscopes for compatibility of marriage a speciality.
Your date, time & place of Birth, Name, father's name & grandfather's name would suffice,

Telephone 081 648 9485 or
write to:
K.P. Centre, 4 Goodwin Close, Mitcham, Surrey CR4 3HZ, U.K.

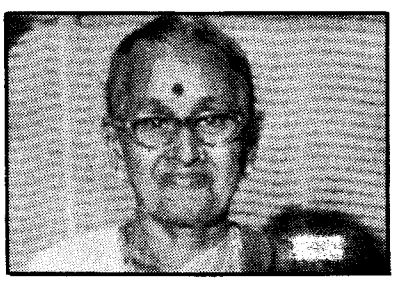
OBITUARIES



Mr. A. Sivasamy *of Puloly, (Retired teacher Nelliady Central College), beloved husband of Saraswathy; loving father of Sivadasan (Solicitor, U.K.), Sivanathan (Canada), Sivanesan (Sri Lanka), Nirmala (Singapore); father-in-law of Subathra (U.K.), Malini (Canada), Pathmajothy (Sri Lanka) and Anandan (Engineer, Singapore); loving grand father of Sainica, Shivanker, Ushanker, Nishanker, Umasuthan and Niloja passed away peacefuly on 7th April 1991. Funeral took place on 8th at Jaffna – 6 Franks Avenue, New Malden, Surrey, U.K.*



Mr. Kathiravelu Paramanantham *(67), Businessman, Ward No. 1, Pungudutivu, Sri Lanka, beloved husband of Neelambal (Canada); father of Chandrakumar (6 Kumars, U.K.), Sooriyakumar (Canada), Vasuki (U.K.), Indrakumar, Jeyakumar, Nandakumar, Srikumar and Premini (All of Canada); father-in-law of Balasubramaniam (U.K.), Vasanthakala (U.K.), Louisa and Komathi (both of Canada); grandfather of Ryan, Ratheepan, Ravin, Jinesh, Rajeevan and Dilan passed away in Canada on 25.4.91. Funeral took place in Etobicoke, Toronto, Canada on 29.4.91 – Tel: 416 259 3163 (Canada) & 081 471 5742 (London).*

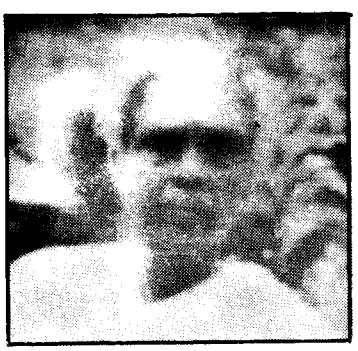


Sornam Rasanayagam, *relict of late A. Rasanayagam (retired Assistant Commissioner of Labour, Sri Lanka), beloved mother of Puveendran (Nigeria and Australia), Rudran (Washington, D.C.), Subadhra (London), and Ishwaran (Washington, D.C.), and mother-in-law of Sakuntala, Ranji, Soma Arunachalam, and Shanthini; fond grandmother of Shailendra, Thanuja, Arjun and Ramanan, Ragavan and Niroshi, Dharshini, Shivantha, passed away peacefully on Tuesday 7th May 1991, in Washington, D.C., (USA). She was cremated on Sunday 12th May 1991, in Washington D.C. – Dr. R. Rudran, 13518 Winding Trail Court, Silverspring, Maryland 20906, USA. Tel: 301 460 3257.*

Mr. Sabalingam Uthayalingam *(41) son of the late Mr. E. Sabalingam, formerly Principal of Jaffna Central & Jaffna Hindu colleges and the late Mrs. Malarjothi Sabalingam; beloved husband of Premaruba; father of Sarangan and Saravanan; brother of Dr. Jothilingam (U.K.), Mrs. Rajini Poovendraraj (Malaysia), Mrs. Ranji Anantha Paskaran (U.K.), Mrs. Shanthi Mahendran (Bharain), Jeyalingam, Abayalingam, Mrs. Kalaichelvi Navendran (all of U.K.); son-in-law of Mr. & Mrs. Navaratnam of Kondavil Sri Lanka; passed away under tragic circumstances, knocked down by a motor vehicle, on 4.4.91 – 25 Elm Drive, North Harrow, Middx. HA2 7BS, U.K. Tel: 081 427 4153.*

Sarojini *(Attorney-at-Law, Uduppiddy), beloved Daughter of the late P. Kanapadhippillai (J.P., Attorney-at-Law, Uduppiddy) and Mrs. M. Kanapadhippillai; wife of S. Gnanapandithan (Works Manager, K.K.S. Cement Factory); Sister of Mahadeva (Sri Lanka), Kamala (Zambia), Mahendran (Sri Lanka) and Gowri (Sri Lanka); Daughter-in-Law of Mr. C. Sinnadurai (U.K.) and late Mrs. Sinnadurai; Sister-in-Law of Verni (Sri Lanka), Manikavasagar (Zambia), Saradha (Sri Lanka), Vithagapandithan (Australia), Yogapandithan (Australia) and Kala (U.K.) passed away on 28th March 1991 and the cremation took place in Colombo on 31st March 1991 – P.O. Box 34939, Lusaka, Zambia and 57, Edmonton Road, Krillapone, Colombo 6, Sri Lanka.*

IN MEMORIAM

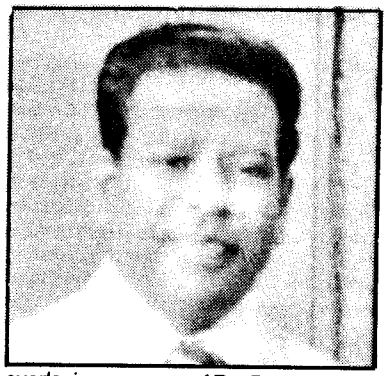


Mrs. Ratnadevi Mandalanayagam *Chunnakam, Sri Lanka*

Born: 11.1.1918 Died: 17.5.88

Your love and affection we shall ever cherish.

Sadly missed and fondly remembered on the third anniversary of her passing away by her children, grandchildren, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law – 'Greenacres', 63 Sandown Park, Tunbridge Wells, Kent TN2 4RT.



In everloving memory of **Dr. Parameswaran Kandiah** *on the first anniversary of his passing away on 12.5.1990. Sorrowfully remembered by his beloved wife Pathmasany and loving children Thayalan and Pathanjali – 29 Mountston Close, Hartside Grange, Hartlepool TS26 0LR, U.K.*

AN APPRECIATION

Dr. Kandiah passed away a year ago. We who have enjoyed his friendship miss his bonhomie and camaraderie, his bubbling sense of humour and the warmheartedness with which he greeted his friends.

He graduated from the University of Sri Lanka in 1968. He was District Medical Officer in Karawanelle for five years and was much loved by the people, especially by the poor, on account of his efficiency and his readiness to serve them at all times. He was Medical Officer of Health, Rambukkane, for two years and Senior House Officer at the Base Hospital, Kegalle, for another two years. Then he served as Registrar and later Resident Obstetrician in the Castle Street Hospital for Women, Colombo for three years. Dr. J.N. Rodrigo, F.R.C.O.G. President of the Sri Lanka College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, has this to say of his work. 'He had considerable experience in the management of all types of Obstetric and Gynaecological cases, especially in handling emergency ones and operating in several cases of obstructed labour. I have watched him operating and found him a competent and unruffled surgeon'. He never spared himself and was available at all times of the day and night.

He came to the United Kingdom in 1982. He worked in the Cameron Hospital for two years. His experience in Sri Lanka enabled him to give efficient service. He joined the General Hospital, Hartlepool, in 1986 and was Resident Senior House Officer in Accident and Emergency at the time of his passing away.

In all the places he had worked he was regarded as a kind, caring, and conscientious doctor who devoted all his time and effort to patients. His natural charm and genuine regard for them won him many friends, as evidenced by the large number of people, irrespective of race and creed, who called at the home and attended the funeral. Mr. M.W. Bowden, F.R.C.S., speaking at the funeral, said that he was competent, courteous, and hard working. 'He was very well known as a sweet, caring, and loving man', said Charge Nurse James Alderdice, 'everyone who worked alongside him or was helped by him thought the same. He was a proper gentleman and did a lot of good work'.

Dr. Kandiah had a deep and abiding faith in God. He was a devout Hindu. He read widely, especially the works of great philosophers, and knew by heart most of the hymns of the Hindu Saints. He liked the company of friends, who were accepted with grace and warmth in their home by him, his loving wife, and children and treated with lavish hospitality. He radiated cheer and goodwill and the fragrant memory of a good and noble life would never go out of our minds.

G.J. Olivelle, F.R.C.S.,
Chelmsford, Essex.

In loving memory of **Suppiah Ratnasingam Kanaganayagam,** *lawyer, educationist, social worker, Tamil nationalist and former Senator, of 61 First Cross Street, Jaffna and Sangarathai, Vaddukoddai, on the second anniversary of his passing away on 15th May 1989 in Sydney, Australia.*

As a man behaves, so does he become. A man of good deeds becomes good, a man of evil deeds becomes evil. He becomes pure by pure deeds, impure by impure deeds. . . .After death he goes to the next world bearing in his mind the subtle impressions of his deeds.

BRIHADARANYAKA UPANISHAD

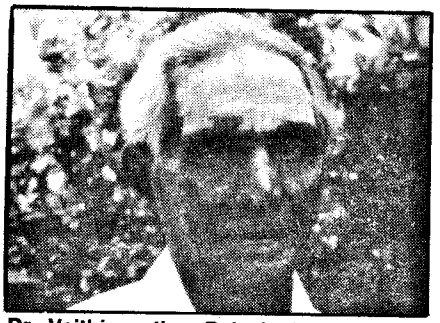
Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise or blame; nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

JOHN MILTON

There is
One great society alone on earth:
The noble living and the noble dead.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

Remembered with deep love and affection by his wife Sakthiammal, daughter Savitri Devi, sons Kanag-Isvaran and Maheswaran, son-in-law Dr. A. Balasubramaniam, daughters-in-law Ramani and Surya and all his grandchildren, as well as the countless citizens of Jaffna he helped throughout his life in so many kind and generous ways. His honesty, integrity and generosity will always be remembered. We thank God for his noble Dharmic life. May his Atma rest in peace. 12 Fitzwilliam Road, Vaucluse, NSW 2030, Australia.



Dr. Vaithiyanathar Balasingham, *formerly of Green Memorial Hospital, Manipay, Sri Lanka. died on 28.5.90.*

Sadly missed and fondly remembered on the first anniversary of his passing away by his beloved wife, children, grandchildren, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law – 16 Middlewood Road, Lanchester, Durham DH7 0HL.

Mrs. Maheswari Sabaratnam, *formerly of the staff of Uduvil Girls' College, Sri Lanka.*

Treasured memories of a dearest mum, mother-in-law, grandmother and great grandmother who passed away on 21.5.89. All our love and thoughts are with you always. Sadly missed and fondly remembered with love by your daughters, sons-in-law, grandchildren and great grandchildren – 23 Arthur Street, Winchester, MA 01890, USA.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

May 27 *10.00am* **Festival of Cricket** *at Maori Cricket Club, Worcester Park, Surrey. For details Tel: 081 977 7642.*

June 1 *7.00pm British Association of Young Musicians presents* **Bharata Natyam Recital** *by* **Chitra Visweswaran** *at Commonwealth Institute, Kensington High Street, London W8 6NG. Tel: Association Sargam 071 736 0910.*

June 2 *3.30pm* **Novena** *at* **Asian Chaplaincy,** *48 Great Peter Street, London SW1P 2HA. Tel: 071 222 2895.*

June 15 *7.00pm* **Bharatha Natya Arangetram** *by* **Sangeeta Sivagnanasundaram,** *pupil of* **Smt Ragini Rajagopal** *at Assembly Hall, Walthamstow, London E17.*

June 16 *1.00pm* **Karainagar Welfare Society** *has* **Annual Lunch** *followed by* **A.G.M.** *at Church Hall, Kemble Road, Tottenham, London N17. Tel: 0923 226000.*

June 29 *7.00pm* **Academy of Fine Arts, London** *presents* **Bharatha Natyam Recital** *by* **Anandavalli** *at Baden Powell House, Queens Gate, London SW7. For tickets and information Tel: 081 904 3937.*

At the Bhavan Centre, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ, Tel: 071 381 3036/4068.

June 1 *7.00pm* **Guitar Concert** *by* **Barun Kumar Pal.**

June 8 *7.00pm* **Kathak** *by* **Sushmita Ghosh.**

June 15 *7.00pm* **Rabindra Sangeet** *by* **Pramita Mallick.**

June 22 *7.00pm* **Bharata Natya Recital** *by* **Prasanna.**

June 28 *7.45pm* **A variety Programme of Music** *by* **Nilamani Rathi.**

June 22 *6.00pm* **Tamil Performing Arts Society** *presents a* **Drama Festival** *of 5 short plays at Waltham Forest Theatre, Lloyd Park, Winns Terrace, Walthamstow, London E17. Tel: 081 459 4335/470 7883.*

At Commonwealth Institute, Kensington High Street, London W8 6NQ. Tel: 071 602 0702.

June 2 *2.30pm Kathak & Odissi presented by* **Priya Pawar & Asavari Pawar.**

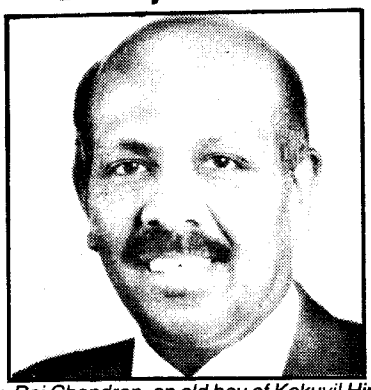
June 16 *2.30pm Bharata Natyam by* **Monisha Patil.**

New York Tamils Feed Homeless

New York Tamil Sangam which had been active in the New York area for the last 20 years, celebrating the arrival of the Tamil New Year by organising cultural functions, took a break from the past by feeding some of the hungry and homeless of New York. The event was held at the First Presbyterian Church in Staten Island and was coordinated by Project Hospitality, a New York based voluntary group working for the homeless. The homeless were treated to a sit-down dinner and were served by volunteers from the Sangam. Dr. M.N. Krishnan, the President of the Sangam has started the feeding program as a pilot project and hopes to extend it to other Sangams in different areas.

'Offer someone money or clothes, they want the next better thing. The only time people say "enough" is when they are full from eating. The best satisfaction you can give someone is to feed completely and that's what we want to do today' said Dr. Krishnan.

Dr. Raj Chandran



Dr. Raj Chandran, an old boy of Kokuvil Hindu college, and medical practitioner in Sutton-in-Ashfield in the East Midlands in the U.K. has been elected President of the Ashfield Conservative Parliamentary Association. He contested the Preston Parliamentary seat at the last general elections and was runner up polling over 14,000 votes. Dr. Chandran has been a Major in the British Royal Army Medical Corps and has been President of the League of the Friends of the University of Jaffna for the last 10 years. He is pioneering the publication of 'Tamils Abroad – Who's Who', which he hopes will be a chronicle of Tamil pioneers who left Sri Lanka and are domiciled elsewhere.

Tamil Sangam plans Dance Contest

The New York Tamil Sangam has planned to hold an International Tamil Dance Contest in New Brunswick High School Auditorium, New Jersey on September 7 at 4.00pm. The best dancer will receive the **Balasaraswati Award for Excellence in Dance** *which is $500 and a plaque. Other finalists too will receive suitable awards/prizes.*

The contest is open to girls/ladies between 16 & 23 years old, residing outside India; must have completed Bharata Natya Arangetram or Chalankai Pujai or equivalent; only non-professionals are eligible; compositions are to be in Tamil and danced solo to professionally recorded taped music for a duration between 6 & 10 minutes. Those interested should contact R. Kabaliswaran, Director-Tamil Dance Contest, 3021 Avenue 1, Apt. C15, Brooklyn, New York 11210, USA. Tel: (718) 377 6491.

Tamilosai completes 50 years of Tamil Broadcasting

Friday, 3rd May, marked 50 years of BBC broadcasts in Tamil. To celebrate the anniversary, Tamilosai broadcast a series of programmes in May.

The very first of these was presented on 3rd May by **Mr. Sankaramurthi** *who had been the voice of Tamilosai for the last 25 years. He had translated, produced and performed in Homer's Odyssey, Milton's Paradise Lost, Shakespeare's King Lear, The Tempest, Macbeth & Hamlet and Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion. The programme contained excerpts from some of his productions, and also extracts from interviews with politicians such as the late M.G. Ramachandran, former Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, literary figures like R.K. Narayan – the best-known Indian novelist writing in English and Indian musicians and dancers.*

Anandhi Suryaprakasam *who has worked for the BBC Tamil Service for the last 21 years presented a feature on the historic and momentous world events covered by Tamilosai.*

Leading politicians, journalists and artists paid tribute to the Tamil service in two programmes presented by **Mr. Mahadevan,** *who has succeeded Mr. Sankaramurthi as head of Tamilosai. Mr. Savi, editor of the popular weekly magazine named after him referred to the new words coined by the service which have enriched the Tamil language. Mr. M.S. Gopal, former broadcasting executive of All India Radio talked about the 'fantastic credibility' of Tamilosai. The programmes also featured reminiscences from three past producers of the service – Messrs. Sivapathasundaram, Sundharalingam and Viswanathan, who remembered some of the milestones in its history.*

Mr. Sivapathasundaram was the first producer of the service and gave it, its apt title Tamilosai.

A Historic Milestone

In the midst of the terrible conflict that continues in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka there are very few reasons for celebration or thankfulness. However, there is one anniversary occuring this year which should be noted and lauded, for it celebrates an institution which has played a significant role in the life of Christian Tamils in particular, and the Tamil nation in general. I am referring of course to the Morning Star or Uthayatharakai, the weeky paper published by the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India which completes a hundred and fifty years of existence. This makes it the second oldest paper in Sri Lanka after the Observer and certainly the oldest paper in the North.

It is with a sense of awe that one looks back all those years to the time in 1841 when American missionaries, having already set up several educational institutions, decided that Jaffna needed a newspaper. The paper which was bilingual (Tamil and English) covered a broad brief. It was not only a provider of news but an organ of education as it continuously published articles covering geography, science and natural history. Having seen the copies of those early editions, which are now stored in the Jaffna College Library, I was amazed at how educative a journal it was.

Much changed this century. This was mainly a result of the increasing availability of newspapers and educational books. No longer did the Morning Star have to play the pioneering educative role as of old. It became more a journal of Christian thought and carried information pertaining to Christian institutions. One of its features which has not changed has been the fact that it is a paper of record and information regarding the Tamil Christian Community. Many of its overseas subscribers continue to find that, an important aspect of its features.

The eighties saw the Morning Star once again playing a prominent role on behalf of the Tamil community. The ever increasing violence perpetrated on the Tamil people and the injustices against them by the state received continuous prominence in the paper. It championed the cause of its people, especially not forgetting the innocent victims of the ever increasing civil war. As the voices of others, such as the Saturday Review were silenced, the Morning Star became one of the few that expatriate Tamils could rely on for opinion and comment from within the Tamil homelands. Despite having had to stop publishing for a while last year due to the problems in Jaffna it is once again coming out weekly.

The Morning Star is available only on subscription and is not available for general sale. This has of course restricted its readership though it has not lessened its importance as a voice of opinion and reason. In terms of printing technology, not a lot has changed since the early days as plans to modernise have been always been hampered by the conflict.

The Editor of the English edition is Mr. C.E. Rajasingham who follows in the footsteps of great editors including Mr. Lyman Kulathungam. The Tamil editor is Rev. D.R. Ampalavanar of the Christian Seminary at Chunnakam.

The motto of the Morning Star, printed on its masthead every week, is 'Righteousness exalteth a nation but sin is a reproach to any people'. May it enjoy many more years as it continues to uphold the rights of our people.

Dr. D.C . Ambalavanar.

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